

CANADA, INC.
THE RELEVANCE OF IDEOLOGY
TO THE EMERGENCE OF A
CAPITALIST SOCIAL FORMATION
IN RUPERT'S LAND
AND THE
'INDIAN TERRITORIES'
OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA,
1852 TO 1885

A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and
Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in the Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist social formation in Rupert's Land and the North West between 1852 and 1885 in two contexts: 1) as a mechanism of transforming the mercantilist social formation - the economy, state, and society - that arose to oversee the fur trade in Rupert's Land and the 'Indian Territory' between 1670 and 1870; and 2) its role in establishing capitalist social formation in the North West up to 1885. I focus on the social processes by which ideology is transmitted and its significance to the emerging formation. I attempt to explain how a diverse group of politicians, bankers, investors, merchants, and industrialists took control of vast, resource-rich, and occupied territories like Rupert's Land and the North West and completely transformed the existing social arrangements according to their worldview. This thesis engages Marxist theory to examine the ideas of John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake as heads of the eastern polity, state, central government, and official opposition, and the representatives of commercial, financial, and industrial factions of the bourgeoisie. Over six hundred primary samples of their discourses in the form of political speeches, historical debates, and personal correspondence were reviewed in this research. The major themes emerging from the analysis pertain to the ideological underpinnings of a capitalist worldview in terms of the relevance of law and Christianity to the colonization and civilization of emigrant and indigenous peoples in the North West. It was also found that while politicians disseminate the worldview of their class and faction, they rely significantly on the support of capital and the producing classes to implement their ideas and establish, legitimize, and reproduce the conditions and relations of capitalism. When Macdonald and Mackenzie failed to rally consent for capitalism among local peoples in the North West, ideological coercion became the means of transforming the necessary social, economic, and political structures. I suggest that the use of force (rather than cooperation) to organize agricultural 'society' in Saskatchewan has had long-term consequences for emigrant and indigenous peoples alike.

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PREFACE

I have been asked about the title of my thesis a number of times since I gave it one so perhaps an explanation is due. I noticed early on that the focus of those in charge of western expansion in America was on economics and the importance of economic power in a global sense. Life before 1885 revolved around sovereignty and the right to extract raw materials, to either manufacture and sell them for consumption or as commodities to further the ‘controlling’ interests in the state. Whole continents were being sectioned off by this or that Company of Merchant Adventurers through the exercise of one or another King’s Charter and the issue of Joint Stock or ‘stake’ in the land and its resources. Heck, whole colonies were being set up as Chartered corporations including the Virginia Company prior to the independence of the U S of A.

There can be no debate as to the negative effects of colonization on indigenous peoples and their ways of life and the strides of political and cultural decolonization. But what about economic decolonization: the undoing of unequal material relationships caused by one nation of people having power, authority, and control or ‘dominion’ over another? Titling my study ‘Canada, Inc.’ seemed befitting to me at the time but when a Google search to see if it was taken turned up empty, rather than rejoice, I started to doubt my critique and creativity. But imagine my surprise when I found out that our old Dominion of Canada was listed as corporation on the DC Securities Exchange, U.S. SEC # 230098, and henceforth Canada Inc.

So what are we ex/changing here? Is this merely residue of some old colonial practice or the result of some new ideal? As my thesis suggests, a majority holds the worldview of the dominant class which at one time suggested that an economic, political, and cultural alliance with Britain was good for business. In subsequent centuries, Britain’s nation-state expansion through colonization and the ‘civilization’ of indigenous peoples was exposed for the bad idea that it was. Political statutes and multi-cultural initiatives have since been implemented to mitigate and/or reconcile the harm done to first and subsequent peoples. But it confounds me as to how any state can be sovereign and its nation or people autonomous as long as their economy remains under another state’s power, authority, and control. As a society, we fought to rid ourselves of antiquated ‘British’ politics and cultural practices by calling them out for the ‘racist’ and ‘genocidal’ sentiments they entailed. Yet we seem to be regressing beyond the out-dated economic development and trade policies that kept us subordinate to Britain for a century. When was the last time we could truly say that Canada held dominion over its own resources? 1982? So far, only a minority think that an ‘American’ union of our economies,

Chapter One - Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This thesis looks at the relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist social formation in Rupert's Land and the North West between 1852 and 1885 in two contexts: 1) as a mechanism of transforming the mercantilist social formation - the economy, state, and society - that arose to oversee the fur trade in Rupert's Land and the 'Indian Territory' between 1670 and 1870 (Mackay, 1949; see also Payment, 1990; Code, 2008); and 2) its role in establishing a capitalist social formation in the North West up to 1885. This thesis explores the social processes by which ideology is transmitted and its significance to the emerging social formation. This thesis outlines the nature of the new social formation, the process of its transformation, and the ideological features that legitimize and reproduce it. It engages Marxist theory to examine the ideas of the heads of the eastern polity, state, and central government concerning capitalist development in the North West as representatives of commercial, financial, and industrial factions of the bourgeoisie.

Class factions are observed in Rupert's Land as early as 1670. Mercantilism in the trading area was organized around commercial barter and a type of commodities circulation¹ that eventually led to the rise of financial capital and the industrial bourgeoisie, and the circulation of commodities (staples products) under capitalism. This process began circa 1670 when a group of English merchants were granted a Charter of exclusive proprietorship over the territory formerly known as Rupert's Land. By the mid-1800's a group of politically conscious Métis middle men, merchants, and traders called 'Riel's People' (Payment, 1990:23) owned and operated the means of fur cultivation and transportation, while local indigenous and emigrant peoples provided the bulk of required labour. Industrious Treaty and non-Treaty indigenous peoples including the French-speaking Roman Catholic Métis and English-speaking Protestant Métis in addition to French-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant Europeans constituted the majority of productive forces engaged in cultivation, manufacture, and trade of natural resources in this mercantilist political economy.

These social arrangements were organized as a loose-knit military-bureaucratic form of state established as commercial trading posts, forts, and missions across the trade network (Mackay, 1949) This network (and monopoly) stretched from the Red River to the Saskatchewan Valley and far into the north and western regions of Rupert's Land, from the Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean to British Columbia, down the coast into Oregon, and across the Gulf to Vancouver Island. While Jesuit priests were initially sent to the trading area to protect the interests of New France from British and American interference in rum and whiskey trading, a structure of moral governance based on Protestant ethics and

education was eventually instituted to reproduce the relations of production after the Conquest of New France in 1760. Thereafter Anglican clergy were sent to the territories to neutralize the influence of the Jesuits of Old France (Macdonald, to The Hon. John Rose, Ottawa, 23 November 1869, in Pope, 1921:106-7).

Producing groups in this formation depended on the *cooperative* use of land and local resources as their means of subsistence and surplus trade. Even though labour was governed by ideological structures established to induce, legitimate, and reproduce the conditions and relations of production in the interest of mercantile capitalists and Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter 'Company') proprietors and partners, local social groups including the Métis remained relatively independent within the fur trade economy, especially after 1849². Producers in Rupert's Land and the North West did not rely solely on the Company for their material or spiritual needs; rather, the Company was dependent upon local producers and their trade surpluses as the basis of commercial wealth and power. However, industrial factions of Scottish and Irish bourgeoisie in eastern Canada had other ideas: they coalesced as a polity to induce British Imperial parliament to abolish the Company's proprietorship and mercantilist trade monopoly in Rupert's Land. Thereafter the North West could be organized according to a capitalist worldview, or set of arrangements. In this ideology the state would own and broker the land and resources as Crown property, a faction of industrial capitalists and land owners from Great Britain, the United States, and Canada called the British North America Association [hereafter 'the BNAA']³ would invest in, establish, and own the means of production through cultivation, communication, manufacture, and export of local resources; and emigrant and indigenous peoples would be settled to provide the labour needed to extract timber, grains and foodstuffs, and minerals, and in this century, oil. *The Merchants' Express* was a commercial corporation comprised of high-ranking gentlemen, politicians, government appointees, merchants, industrials, Foreign Consuls to the Queen, and "personal friends" of Macdonald's who would also benefit from economic development in Rupert's Land and the 'Indian Territory' (thereafter the North-West Territories) (Canada, 1868:373-6; 1874b:112-3; 1880:116). The North West was to be organized as a capitalist political economy integrated into the 'sovereign' centralized state of Canada that in actual fact was still dependent on Great Britain economically, socio-politically, and militarily.

1.1 The Research Problem, Objectives of the Research, and Research Questions

The focus of this thesis is on the relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist formations in Rupert's Land and the North West. The objective of this thesis is to describe the kind of economy, state, and society envisioned by representatives of the bourgeoisie in the North West, and explain how these formations emerged: how a diverse group of politicians, bankers, investors, merchants, and industrialists

took control of vast, resource-rich, and occupied territories like Rupert's Land and the North West and completely transformed the existing social arrangements according to their worldview. This thesis explains the ideological underpinnings of this worldview in terms of the system of ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs that helped to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the conditions and relations of capitalism in the North West. This thesis is based on research that starts with the following sets of questions:

- What was the nature of the new social formation envisioned in the North West by representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie within the state and government of Canada?
 - How were the new economy, state, and society organized and established in the North West?
 - What were the mechanisms of transforming the existing economy, state, and society?
 - How were the new economy, state, and society legitimized?
 - What were the mechanisms of inducing and/or coercing conformity and support for the new formation?
 - How was the new order reproduced?
 - What were the mechanisms of social reproduction of the conditions and relations of (capitalist) production?
- What was the relationship between the ideas of bourgeois officials and state policies in the emergence of the new economy, state, and society in the North West?
 - What were the claims and arguments being put forth?
 - Who was to benefit?
 - What were the implications of ideology for the various local social groups resident in the territories?

1.2 Theoretical and Methodological Frameworks

A variety of theoretical approaches have been employed to study the history of economic development in Canada, the most notable of which is the 'staples' thesis developed by Mackintosh and Innis that has become the foundation of economic theory in Canada. The staples thesis is reviewed in Chapter Two as one way of looking at the political and economic determinants of capitalist formation in the North West. I also review the Marxist literature in this chapter as the framework that I have adopted to account for the social aspects of transformation through examination of the ideological underpinnings of

the economy, state, and society that arose between 1852 and 1885 in the process of capitalist development. I argue that a capitalist formation was envisioned by factions of industrial bourgeoisie situated in the United States and Great Britain and by John A. Macdonald, their representative in Canada. Macdonald was the leader of commercial and financial factions who allied to build a transportation and communications network across the plains to carry agricultural produce from the North West to east Canada and England where it could be manufactured into commodities and consumable goods. While the initial purpose of this network was to access raw materials for manufacturing initiatives in the east, Macdonald's vision of industrial capitalism in Canada has never been fully achieved. We continue to be what Watkins (1963) classifies as an underdeveloped export nation extracting valuable resources for manufacture elsewhere.

Chapter Two provides theoretical and substantive examples of the modern state as a bourgeois institution; an ideological form that arises with other ideological forms of superstructure including a centralized government, law, and religion to establish, legitimize, and reproduce a capitalist social formation and therefore the power and interests of the various factions of bourgeoisie. Chapter Three explains the method of thematic analysis that I use in my case study of the political writings of John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake as members and representatives of the industrial and merchant factions of the bourgeoisie between 1852 and 1885. I use the case study method of research elaborated by Ragin (1992), Walton (1992), and Wieviorka (1992) to link Marxist assumptions of ideology to evidence in the empirical world at a specific time and place. The materialist analytical framework formulated by Macdonell (1986) that I use as the method of explaining ideology as a *mechanism* of social transformation and the establishment, legitimization, and reproduction of capitalist formations is outlined in Chapter Three. I use this analytical model to operationalize ideology as discourse which is rooted in the material world and therefore connected to the worldview – the ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs about the economy, state, and society – of the ruling class. With these theoretical and methodological considerations in mind, I subject the worldviews of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake to Marxist critique as representatives of the bourgeoisie within the eastern polity, within the colonial government, and at the head of the Canadian state. Their political writings are examined for certain themes as evidence of interest in terms of the dissemination of an idea aimed at influencing behaviour among the dominant and subordinate groups toward capitalist development in Rupert's Land and the North West. Their discourses are the data for this research, collected in the form of speeches, parliamentary debates, letters, memoirs, manifestos, and editorials between 1852 and 1885. This thesis also explores the ways in which political representatives of the bourgeoisie engage policy to further the interests of their class.

1.3 Outline of the Analytical and Substantive Chapters of the Thesis

The analysis is framed by theoretical understanding of ideological forms as conceptualized in the Marxist literature. These concepts include the modern state and the political and legal, and philosophical and religious or 'civil' forms of superstructure that arose in the North West to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the conditions and relations of capitalist production, the modern state, and the power and interests of the bourgeoisie. As the Marxist literature suggests, a critique of ideology must also uncover the contradictions of domination in reproducing the interests of one class or class faction at the expense of all other classes, factions, and social groups. This is explored in a historical context in a separate explanatory chapter wherein I discuss the rise of the industrial bourgeoisie in Canada between 1852 and 1867. The goals of industrial factions for capitalist development in the North West are evidenced in the ideas of their representatives and are outlined in Chapter Four. The findings of my case study are presented in Chapter Five and Chapter Six. The worldview of the bourgeoisie is presented in Chapter Five where I explain the nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned by representatives of industrial and merchant factions in the state and central government between 1867 and 1885. The relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist society in Rupert's Land and the North West in terms of how these formations were established, legitimized, and reproduced is explained in Chapter Six. A summary of key findings and my interpretation of the implications of ideological (factional) politics for local social groups in the territories are presented as a discussion in Chapter Seven. My concluding remarks are also presented in Chapter Seven where I address the contributions and limitations of my study.

Chapter Four outlines the rise of the bourgeoisie in Rupert's Land and the North West of Canada circa 1856 to 1867. Industrial interests were concentrated in the eastern polity represented by John A. Macdonald and prominent members of a group of Tory political and industrial elites known as The Family Compact and Chateau Clique of eastern Canada. Their principal objective in this period was to transform the local economy in Rupert's Land and the North West with new technologies using the old military-bureaucratic formation and commercial network established to oversee the fur trade as the foundation of a new transportation and communication system. Representatives of this polity appealed to Imperial parliament for abolition of the Company's Charter and exclusive trade licence, and the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada so that 'permanent' British authority could be established in the territories. This was the first step in transforming the fur trade society according to a capitalist worldview. Rupert's Land was to be purchased by Canada under the proprietorship of the centralized state and integrated into Confederation under control of a constitutional (parliamentary) monarchy, where after parliament could be manipulated to this end. Leaders of the eastern polity would raise capital among factions of the bourgeoisie from the United States and Great Britain acting as the BNAA to develop the necessary

technologies for cultivation; they would thereafter establish the productive relations needed to cultivate the land where settlement would provide the necessary capital and revenue taxation to construct commercial infrastructure.

Chapter Five answers a central question of this thesis by explaining the nature and type of the economy, state, and society envisioned in the North West by representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie between 1867 and 1885. Once the English merchants were no longer in control of the economy, production could be industrialized under the dominion of the modern centralized state, where agricultural society would be coerced through colonization, emigration, and settlement. As the Marxist literature suggests, changes in the economy would be reflected in the overarching superstructure that was organized to legitimize and reproduce the new order and ensure hegemony of a capitalist worldview. As this literature also suggests, ideology does not operate in a vacuum. This chapter presents the findings of my case study of the writings of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake as representatives of the bourgeoisie within the eastern polity that formed the nucleus of the first government of the new Canadian state in 1867. This chapter also explains the significance of the *Law of Nations* to their worldview. The importance of this Enlightenment treatise is that it is a conduit of ideas representative of ruling commercial factions aimed at economic domination in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the principles of which were widely recognized in matters concerning international commerce between the sovereigns of Germany, France, and England. I suggest that this treatise is a form of ideological philosophy that influenced and guided the actions of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake, who used its principles to induce, coerce, and exploit the producing classes. With representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie at the helm of the new sovereign state, 'Canada' would enter the world economic system on its own terms while strengthening the Empire and the core states of the United Kingdom through economic expansion and development. The ultimate goal was to increase factional power and wealth, including that of industrial and political elites.

Chapter Six answers the question of how a capitalist economy, state, and society materialized and was legitimized and reproduced in the North West after the annexation of Rupert's Land. The Marxist literature suggests that a capitalist worldview has observable ideological underpinnings aimed at influencing individual behaviour toward capitalist production and consumption on a global scale. Furthermore, that the bourgeoisie engage specific ideological strategies to transform existing economies, states, and societies in order to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the economic and socio-political structures of capitalism. This chapter explains the utility of ideology to factions of capital at the helm of the Canadian state between 1867 and 1885. Part I of this chapter explains how a capitalist economy was *established* and the relevance of the executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the central state as

ideological forms to the process. It explains the role of state executives as agents of ideological dissemination in the transformation of the fur trade economy, state, and society in the North West. It explains their role in the establishment of a constitutional parliamentary form of government to oversee 1) the development of commercial infrastructure based on implementation of the freehold system of land tenure as a means of subsistence and surplus production; 2) creation of a specialized labour force based on agriculture through settlement of emigrant and indigenous peoples; 3) ownership of the means of production as private property, 4) colonization of social classes of capital and labour to improve this property; and 5) construction of infrastructure to enable the circulation of commodities under capitalism.

Part II of this chapter explains how capitalist formations are *legitimized* and the relevance of 1) a system of law created to coerce production, ensure circulation, and protect private property as a means of production; 2) a system of distributive justice to coerce production, citizenship, and self-government; 3) the creation of a bureaucracy as a nexus of power to administrate production, property, and the labour of emigrant and indigenous peoples; and 4) the collection of taxation and expenditure of public revenue in the development of commercial infrastructure. According to my review of their political discourses, Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake played central roles in the establishment of these economic and political structures and the legitimization or justification of their use as a means of controlling economic development - and emigrant and indigenous peoples - in the North West. The collection of taxation and import duties as state revenue and expenditure to establish infrastructure in the North West had to be supported by the majority of prominent members of society acting as members of federal and provincial parliaments⁴, and be seen as necessary for the public good and safety. For example, politicians argued publically for the construction of a communication system through the territories as a ‘public good’ that was worthy of an outlay of capital and labour, that needed to be protected by a system of law and order, which had to be supported by the people (through taxation). The use of state revenue to build capitalist infrastructure in the North West was justified through the creation of local Métis economic factions as an ‘enemy’ of the state and the established social order in eastern Canada. Elimination of this threat in the interest of public safety thereafter became the responsibility of the state, its executive, and its legislative, juridical, and military branches.⁵.

Part III of this chapter explains how the relations and conditions of capitalism are *reproduced* in terms of the relevance of religion to these processes in the North West. While ideology has a coercive role in establishing and legitimizing the economy and state inherent to political society, society cannot be reproduced by coercion and force alone: cooperation cannot necessarily be imposed as (Gramsci, 1971). Members of the clergy and upper class colonists - civil society - were dispersed among the territories to induce conformity to the new economy and state by ‘friendly’ means in developing a sense of community

among emigrant and indigenous populations. Foremost among their duties was to socialize the idea of private property (the ‘ownership’ of livestock, implements, outbuildings, seed, and land). Emigrant and indigenous peoples were encouraged to learn how to cultivate and extract natural resources for subsistence and as capital in terms of buying their own farm machinery and equipment. However, they had to be compelled to produce surpluses for the state (rather than as private capital or trade) as the basis of commodities exchange. As they did under the mercantilist system, members of the clergy provided moral governance to influence good behaviours leading to productivity while sanctioning against immorality leading to disorder. This section will also explain the relevance of distributive justice as a means of rewarding good behaviour as well as law and order as ideological forms of coercion in maintaining peaceful order with force. Economic development in the North West was thereafter controlled by the state and central government through a political system of government law, order, and justice in concert with Christianity as the guiding principles or ‘hegemony’ of the new capitalist order.

Chapter Seven provides a summary and further analysis of the key findings of this research through a discussion of the implications of ideological policies and politics for social groups in Rupert’s Land and the North West. My observations show that the resource rich territories of Rupert’s Land and the North West were economic zones; the targeted territories of commercial and industrial factions engaged in global commerce. I suggest that the transformation of the fur trade and associated tribal social formations for this purpose started with the Company circa 1670 and continued with the transformation of the mercantilist state established in the north and western regions of the continent between 1856 and 1885. In the newly formed Dominion of Canada, production was to occur by way of manufacturing in the east offset by agriculture and resource extraction in the North West for commercial exchange within the colonial Empire and independent nations of Europe, China, and Oceania. As Alexander Mackenzie states, “if institutions were established [in the North West] which afford the social protection and political rights enjoyed in Canada, thousands of immigrants would be attracted thither, who would speedily develop the abundant resources of the soil” (December 5, 1867: 195). The goal of the bourgeoisie was to abolish the mercantilist social formation in Rupert’s Land and the North West and engender a capitalist worldview that would legitimize the relations of production and reproduce their interests as a class. A cross-continental rail and waterways system was established for this purpose. However, each faction had their own ideas and aims of how it would be used and the manner of trade it would be used for.

It was found that industrial factions of the bourgeoisie represented by Macdonald coalesced as a class for the purpose of establishing a *political economy* in the North West toward commercial and technological domination of North America and the world economic system. This coalition was forged to compel the Imperial parliament to abolish the Hudson Bay Company’s Charter and permit *annexation* of

the land to Canada. Thereafter it could be improved through *colonization* and agricultural settlement of capital and labour derived from industrious emigrant and indigenous populations of Europe and the North West. Indigenous, British, and/or Christian peoples would form agricultural communities in society to extract resources, improve the property for future settlement, and develop commercial infrastructure according to British custom and culture. British institutions would be established to induce the *civilization* of indigenous peoples as British subjects, producers, consumers, Christians, and equal citizens in this regard. While equality is a main tenet of enlightenment discourse defined in the context of individual rights, in this case *enfranchisement* was found to be a right that could only be earned if approved by its Liberal proponents who opposed Macdonald's Conservative policies toward the gradual integration of indigenous peoples as equal citizens. Given the importance of resource extraction and cultivation to the commercial (merchant) capitalists that Mackenzie and Blake represented and would continue to represent in the new Temperate and Irish provinces envisioned west of Manitoba, North West peoples would only achieve *equal* rights as long as they were productive, Christian, and white.

Representatives of commercial and industrial factions were also at odds regarding the end goal of production. While Macdonald set out to develop the North West as the economic foundation for an industrial and imperial Canada, Mackenzie and Blake had other ideas. They wanted to divide up Rupert's Land into regional markets and extract staples for free trade with the United States and Europe under the colonial aegis of Great Britain. Ideological politics like those observed between 1873 and 1885 have had long term consequences for indigenous and emigrant peoples alike. I contend that the use of state force in 1885 was a consequence of factional politics over control of the economic, political, and social organization in the North West. This will be discussed further in Chapter Seven as a final reflection on the lessons learned in the course of this case study, and there have been many. The contributions and limitations of this thesis as original research will also be explained in Chapter Seven, as will my justification of a framework that is open to criticism of being 'deterministic' and 'ideological' in itself.

1.4 Conclusion

Before the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada, heads of local and Imperial governments promoted capitalism as beneficial to 'the people' of the North West who would be collectively liberated through agriculture, industry, and enterprise in building, owning, and operating commercial infrastructure throughout the North West. Their discourses initially included the Métis as well as indigenous groups whose position in the fur trade society was later politicized as being 'oppressed' by the Company under the weight of its mercantile principles, Jesuit priests, and Métis middle men. However, such sentiment changed in the first few years after annexation. Citing indigenous peoples as the 'problem' for the failure

of their assimilation policies, state executives and the leaders of government concentrated their efforts on the systematic emigration of British and Western European labour and capital. Thereafter the focus of government was on the segregation of indigenous groups. This enabled the rise of the bourgeoisie and the emergence of forms of government, politics, law, philosophy, and religion in the North West that had elsewhere shaped the economy, the modern state, and society according to a capitalist worldview. This thesis explains how they did it and the relevance of ideology to the process.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

There are a variety of approaches from which to study historical capitalist development. The economic theses developed by Shortt (1904), Callender (1909; 1965), Skelton (1913), Mackintosh (1923), and Innis (1930; 1946) are notable in explaining the development of export-oriented countries like Canada. Innis is most recognizable for his explanation of the integration of diverse regional economies through national policies aimed at improving Canada's place in international commerce, as well as the position of Britain and the United States. The connection between economics and commercial policy, technology, the creation of local markets, and the evolution of regional economies toward colonial, national, and international commerce is well articulated in these theses, and in those developed by Creighton (1937) and Easterbrook (in Easterbrook and Aitken, 1956) that follow. Whereas Skelton, Mackintosh, and Innis in particular explore the interrelations between economics and politics in the United States and British Dominions (where Canada is conceptualized as a center political economy), 'production' is defined in terms of economic activities – resource extraction, commodities, regional markets, and manufacturing for example. In these theses, the relationship of class to the process of developing the means and conditions of production is largely ignored. With the exception of Macintosh, Innis, and Watkins, little attention is paid to social or ideological aspects of economic and political organization beyond noting 'favourable man/land ratios' and the 'absence of inhibiting traditions'⁶. The focus is not on the process of capitalist development, class position, consciousness, politics, and/or the importance of class struggle to social change. Rather, it is on established albeit under-developed states and multinationals competing for control of resources, international wealth, knowledge, and force.

Innis and Watkins (1963) bring socio-political factors into the discussion through brief explorations of the struggles of indigenous peoples engaged in the fur trade comparative to the 'troubles' experienced in the United States where no such point of contact exists. As Innis (in Innis and Ray, 1930: 392) states, "Canada has had no serious problems with her native peoples since the fur trade depended primarily on these races," as did the monopolization of North West timber trade by industrialists from Quebec, Ottawa, and St. John. As he further suggests of the Métis, "the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away but their work will endure in the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada and in Canadian institutional life" (Innis and Ray, 1930: 392). While Innis is correct in assuming that the Métis were not as prominent in the United States as they were in Canada, he is incorrect in suggesting that they integrated 'quietly' as evidenced from the reaction of Métis leaders in the North West and counter-reaction of the state between 1869 and 1885. Furthermore, even though Innis attributes the success of the fur trade to indigenous peoples almost a century ago, we have yet to accept that "the Indian and his culture were fundamental to the growth of Canadian institutions," (Innis, in Innis and Ray, 1930: 392).

Among contemporary scholars the focus remains centered on the debate between Marxist political economy, classical (European) economic theories of Smith and Ricardo, Keynesian economics, and neo-conservative (monetarist) principles in explaining Canada's unique position in international commerce. Using production, trade, and capital investment, and the composition of the bourgeoisie and the strength of 'their state' as units of analysis, Clement and Williams (1989) identify three perspectives that conceptualize Canada as 1) a dependency of Great Britain and/or the United States, 2) a sub-imperial power in its own right, although at the bottom of a hierarchy that includes Japan and Israel, or 3) a fully-developed, sovereign, and advanced 'First World' imperialist socio-economic formation. While local economic historiographers have examined Canada's commercial relations in a regional context, there is little attention to factional politics, conflict, or the exploitation and struggles that drive social change and/or keep a resource rich nation like Canada locked in a state of export-dependency and/or caught in the middle of inter-imperialist struggles. As Neill (1999) suggests, seminal works on the fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Company, the consequences of industrial revolution from fur to wheat to petroleum and natural gas, immigration/population change, agricultural policy, and empire building have been put forth by members of 'The Saskatchewan School' including Fowke, Timlin, Britnell, and Buckley (See also Innis, Galbraith, and Graham). However, historical analyses of the social determinants of economic policy and the relevance of ideology to development in the North West are still lacking. As MacNally (1981) suggests, it is time to abandon the preoccupation with staples, aggregates, and 'invisible' economic forces to concentrate on the tangible relationship between class (formation) and capitalism in Canada.

As Panitch (1981) suggests, we cannot begin to understand Canada's unique regional circumstances by looking at economic factors alone. He addresses these shortcomings by exploring 'white' settler colonization, the labour market, liberal democracy, popular culture in Canada, and the role of the state in aiding accumulation, legitimizing the capitalist system, and ensuring social control through political institutions including the state. As Clement and Williams (1989: 124) point out, Canada has become an economic zone within the American metropolis where the Canadian government is tasked with regional administration on behalf of Washington, Detroit, and Chicago. Panitch articulates the ideological forms of popular culture that make such domination possible. He also examines the American forms of mass media and education that threaten our distinct identity and nationality, which Teeple suggests is weakening under the weight of 'informal' American imperial control of the Canadian state.

As Laxer (1989) suggests, the problem of internalizing domination and dependency for Canadians began in the formative period when the Dominion 'volunteered' to be a dependency of the Empire. This paved the way for foreign ownership and cemented our economic dependence to Great Britain, and now to the United States. The problems facing the nascent industrial class at the helm of a relatively weak

commercial capitalist state in Canada in the nineteenth century were overcome by the presence of an even weaker agrarian class, sectional cultural interests, and the regional differences that continue to plague us today. While the state appears to be autonomous under prosperous conditions, it tends to act as an instrument of capital during periods of conflict. Laxer echoes Gramsci in suggesting that capitalists tend to harmonize their interests and speak with a single voice while the productive forces of Canada have been fragmented and demoralized by economic crises.

Mackintosh touches briefly on the problem of ideology in his discussion of the 'export' of emigrant and indigenous peoples to the American frontier circa 1870 that resulted in the state's proposal to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway as a way to overcome the drain on productive (and consumer) resources to the United States. Innis (1949; 1950; 1951) employs what Comor (1994) suggests as a 'modified' form of class analysis in his later work on the relevance of historical media including churches, schools, law, markets, and money to the growth of the British Empire through the communication of a bourgeois worldview of agricultural society and production. Naylor extends Laxer's discussion of our pattern of dependency by addressing control of the colonial economy and state in Canada by commercial and financial factions in Montreal who allied with the British Empire and locked the country into a staples trap which prevented industrialization. However little more is said in prominent political economy circles about the world-view of society held by bourgeois factions in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. Smith (2006) touches briefly on the importance of foreign investment in political economy of Canada based on his observations of the influence of London and the English financial element of the the BNAA - the 'powerful Western force' - who held sway over politicians in the colonies and at home. This faction was comprised of a group of English bankers who lobbied Imperial Parliament to support Confederation and the alliance of the British colonies with Quebec in exchange for the use of public funds to build trade routes for the export of local resources elsewhere for the manufacture of luxury goods for consumption; who created economic and political crises; who invested in Confederation; and who engaged the centralised state to avert accumulation and distribution problems encountered in the course of capitalist development. One of these 'problems' was the pre-capitalist indigenous population of the North West that had to either be slowly converted to the capitalist mode of production or contained by 'massive repression and discrimination', as Watkins (1963) argues to be the case elsewhere. O'ram (1992) examines the 'peculiarities' of the Canadian experience of expansionism where the focus on the development of regional consciousness – east versus north west - is pertinent here. In the preface to the second edition he suggests that such consciousness is not determined by ideas or economic circumstance alone, but rather that economics and social circumstance are closely interconnected to ideas where the autonomy of one or the other cannot be denied. The goal of the expansionists in the east was to convince 'other' Canadians

that it was in the best interests of the future of the nation that the west had to be transferred to Canada and settled according to their worldview.

I adopt a Marxist theoretical framework to address the system of ruling class ideas aimed at inducing conformity and support for capitalist society among emigrants and indigenous peoples in the North West. Marxist conceptualizations of the economy as a totality of relationships involved in the organization of the formation in the North West are applied here to better understand the ideological underpinnings of a capitalist worldview and its impact on social change and transformation. From a Marxist perspective the modern state arises to reproduce class interest in the economy through ownership and control of technology as the means of production. It is the role of bourgeois intellectuals at the helm of government to develop ideas that enable transformation of the old state and civil society, legitimize the modern state and the notion of owning technology and communications systems as private property, and control the people in such a way as to reproduce the relations of capitalism on a global scale. This perspective enables exploration of the social processes involved in transformation the North West, and examination of the ideological nature of institutions that arise to reproduce the conditions of capitalist development; to uncover the class basis of resource extraction, commodities, regional markets, and manufacturing, for example. This perspective also provides an outline of ideas produced and disseminated by the bourgeoisie in Canada to influence the way people think and act, and come to see economic, political, and social structures or ‘society’ as naturally evolving and unchangeable, and capitalism under a liberal democratic state as the most ‘effective’ and therefore ultimate mode of human production⁷.

The theoretical framework for my case study is presented in this chapter as a review of the literature on the relevance of such ideology to social transformation, legitimization, and reproduction of capitalist society from within the Marxist perspective. Ideology is conceptualized as *a system of ideas* aimed at influencing our attitudes and the way we think toward conformity and acceptance of the means of capitalist production and the inequitable social order this entails. Ideology is produced and disseminated by representatives of the bourgeoisie within the state and government for this purpose and to control individual behaviour when self-enforcement fails. Ideology is observed as discourse that concerns the formation of economic, political, and social structures that appropriate labour and material wealth, suppress alternative ideas, and coerce cooperation and support for capitalism (Marx and Engels, 1947; 1974). Gramsci (1974) suggests that domination through economic or political state structures including legislative, juridical, and executive branches and/or threat of force by military and police powers cannot be maintained by coercion alone. His concept of hegemony is used in this thesis to identify the process in which politicians and prominent members of the clergy and ruling factions exercise *cultural leadership* within civil society to induce consent for capitalism among both classes. These are the traditional

intellectuals identified by Marx, Engels, and Gramsci who must engage coercive aspects of the state *and* exercise cultural leadership over society in order to gain complete control of the economy by establishing capitalist structures that legitimize and reproduce a capitalist worldview, including law and the legal order.

The Marxist literature illustrates the objectives of the bourgeoisie in organizing social and legal order according to their worldview in order to reproduce capitalism (and their socio-political interests) on a global scale. The Marxist literature suggests that the relevance of ideology is to 1) transform the old economy, society, and state with a modern or capitalist state; 2) legitimize the new state, economy, and society through engagement with various super-structural institutions including government, law, philosophy, and religion; that 3) conceal the contradictory nature of capitalism and suppress alternative worldviews that impede progress to this end. Marx and Engel's conceptualization of ideology and the state will be further defined in this chapter in addition to the theoretical concepts of hegemony, moral governance, and the civilizing and colonizing processes that are engaged to further enable global transformations. A review of the manifestation of ideological forms of state, government, law, and religion and their roles in social transformation as presented in substantive literature is also included in this chapter.

2.1 Marxist Critique of Ideology

The research for this thesis takes place as an exposé of the system of ideas, institutions, and ideological forms that the bourgeoisie engage to bring about conformity to a capitalist worldview of the economy, state, and society. It follows observations, arguments, and concepts developed by Marx (1844-5; 1847; 1948; 1970; 1981), Engels (1890; 1970), Marx and Engels (1947; 1974), Gramsci (1971), and Anderson (1974). The Marxist literature suggests that the bourgeoisie seek to develop what was posed as a 'universal' worldview based on specific ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs aimed at shaping global commerce. While the bourgeoisie amass enormous fortunes in money and property from agricultural finance, mortgage, and loans, commercial pursuits as well as industrial production that translates to power in capitalist society, small-holding producers live in poverty. The producing classes are further oppressed by a state which maintains this relationship with several overarching or hegemonic ideas (Marx, 1981). This arrangement is brought about by the rise of political classes who act as an historic bloc in order to control the "multitudes of productive forces accessible to men" (Marx and Engels; 1947:18; see also Gramsci, 1971).

Ideology is inherent to this worldview which conceals the contradictory nature of capitalist society, (Marx, 1981; see also Gramsci, 1971). It is for this reason that sociological inquiry must "in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social

and political structure with production” (Marx and Engels, 1947:18). A critique of ideology must therefore identify the material basis of ideas that enable the modern state as a bourgeois institution and account for the ideological forms that reproduce it, including those aimed at concealing and/or oppressing alternative ideas and worldviews. Such contradictions become obvious within the ideological realm where social interests can be empirically identified and exposed. As Engels (1890) suggests, while productive relations determine our social, political and intellectual life processes and conceal the nature and essence of capitalism, they also stimulate consciousness which leads to class struggle. As Marx (1981) suggests, bourgeois ideas of private property, the state, the constitutional monarchist form of government, law, and Christianity all have a role to play in the emergence of capitalist societies, and will therefore be further explained as part of my theoretical and conceptual models.

2.2 Base Super-structural Model of Society

This research follows the Marxist model of society which starts from the position that in a natural state of civil society, property, such as land and natural resources, is a communal institution and not privately owned as it is under capitalism. As individual members propagate, they cooperate in sharing this property, their skills, and the technologies needed to produce more food and material objects in the interest of the community’s needs and growth. As the needs of the family and community are satisfied, new needs are met by a cooperative ‘productive force.’ However, as communities grow and prosper, a division of labour occurs that eventually gives rise to two classes; a producing and ruling class who develop, control, and come to own the means of material and mental production (Marx and Engels, 1947). This is the state of political society conceptualized by Marx and Engels (1947) where productive relations are emancipated from the community as privately-owned skills, technology, land, natural resources, human labour, and the many forms of capital (property) which are used to increase and accumulate individual wealth including merchant commercial goods, money, land, and industrial technology. Common goods that were previously shared and/or used for subsistence, barter, and trade become commodities that are sold for profit (Burtch, 1992). This is the economic foundation on which bourgeois power and interests are built and reproduced (Marx and Engels; 1955; see also Marx, 1894; 1959; and Anderson, 1974).

2.2.1 Social Classes, Specialized Labour, Capital, Private Property, and the Circulation of Commodities

A capitalist economy is marked by a division of (specialized) labour, the circulation of commodities, capital, private property, and social classes (Marx, 1959). The bourgeoisie are the financial, commercial, and industrial factions directly below the monarchy and above everybody else. They must coalesce in struggle against the aristocracy and lower classes to establish their worldview. They either

form alliances with and/or agitate the lower classes to rise up against established authority in order to improve their social position. They have also been known to struggle against each other in what appears to be a united front, but where the end goal is an elevated position within the state where their interest in a specific form of capital in land, finance, or industry can be accumulated. They rely on the complex of legal, moral, and religious state-superstructure to preserve this position (Abercrombie et al, 1990; see also Anderson, 1971). The modern bourgeoisie are the various factions of capitalists who own the means of production in terms of land, factories, money, industry, and technology as private property. They are one of three social classes engaged in the political (capitalist) economy articulated by Marx, whose goal is to integrate productive members of local civil societies to production according to a capitalist worldview. Marx (1981) instructs that it is important to remember that the bourgeoisie are not a unified class, but are fragmented and fractured as a result of their specific interests, in agriculture and/or manufacturing for example. They unite as a historic bloc for the sole purpose of controlling their amalgamated interests in the economy, and developing a universal capitalist worldview and world economy based on a division of specialized labour (bought and sold - and socialized - on a global scale), which depends largely on the cooperation of the producing classes. While the bourgeoisie is split over diverse economic interests, they evolved into the 'pure' republican factions identified by Marx (1981) who came to dominance in the United States through trade, land speculation, war, and the accumulation of capital necessary to the building of large-scale industry and commercial infrastructure (Teeple, 1972). In this research the commercial factions are identified as the 'Lords of the Soil' in Quebec and at the helm of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land and the North West, who are observed to be competing with industrial factions including the BNAA for control of the state and natural resources between 1670 and 1870 (Mackay, 1949).

2.3 The Relevance of Ideology and Hegemony to Social Transformation, Legitimization, and Reproduction of Capitalist Economy, State, and Society

Marx and Engels (1955:14; 1970) suggest that the bourgeoisie are unable to think beyond the capitalist economic system; they therefore "create a world after its own image." The key mechanism in this regard is ideology; the ideas, values and belief system or 'worldview' of capitalist society that enables the transformation, legitimization, and reproduction of capitalism as the basis of bourgeois power and wealth. Ideology is rooted in capitalist mode of production. As such, bourgeois ideas are merely "ideological reflexes ... of material life-processes" (Marx and Engels, 1947:14). Thoughts, ideas, ideals, attitudes, beliefs, interests, and patterns of social behaviour resulting in institutions are shaped by the economic system including the political state which is arena of class domination and struggle. The superstructure therefore, is always political or 'ideological' in the reproduction of bourgeois society, the state,

and the economic relations of production under capitalism. Ideology “is a term given to the necessary superstructure of a particular structure ... [but also to the ‘arbitrary elucidations’ of particular individuals, and so it becomes necessary to] ... distinguish between historically organic ideologies which are essential to a given structure, and ideologies that are arbitrary, rationalistic, or ‘willed’” (Gramsci, 1971:377). When ideology is arbitrary, it can only create individual ‘movements’, polemics and so on.” On the other hand, when ideologies comprise superstructure - such as a bourgeois worldview of capitalist society does - they have a certain ‘validity’ which is psychological in the organization of individuals, social classes, and groups toward production, private property, competition, work, and wage labour.

Ideologies correspond to both political and civil levels of bourgeois society (Gramsci, 1971: 57). According to Marx (1970) the modern state is an ideological form of power that has a repressive and coercive role in society. This power is exercised as direct domination or command through the state and juridical government. As previously noted, the state also gives rise to the political super-structural sphere where the bourgeoisie exercise cultural, intellectual, and moral leadership or ‘hegemony’ (Gramsci, 1971). The dominant group must be able to exercise cultural, intellectual, and moral leadership throughout civil society in order to attain and then maintain government and state power (Gramsci, 1971: 57; 168). Although hegemony is ethical-political according to Gramsci (1971:161), it always has an economic base. Compliance is achieved through educational and religious institutions that induce consent to the “general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” (Gramsci, 1971:12). Compliance is also achieved at the political level of society as a result of hegemony of government and its legitimate authority to assert the duties and obligations of production or of citizenship for example. However, ideologies also create the terrain “on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, [and] struggle” (Gramsci, 1971:377).

If the rule of a certain class is based in the rule of certain ideas, it would follow that membership in a certain class or social group effects how we think and act as well as our ability to recognize the ideological nature of capitalist society, as Marx and Engels (1947:41) and Gramsci (1971) propose. Ideology perpetuates a capitalist worldview of society manifest in the institutional superstructure where state executives, the legislature, judicial branches, and officials act in tandem with the public force to legitimize and reproduce the economy and the relations of production. This creates ‘false consciousness’ of the real material conditions and conceals the contradictions of commercial society which keeps the ruling class in control of the economy. While the superstructure stems from these real material conditions, its ideological nature prevents the producing classes from becoming aware of their exploitation and either suppresses resistance and struggle against the ruling class or induces cooperation in order to keep the arrangement intact and the economy operating smoothly (Marx and Engels, 1947). The bourgeoisie have

the oldest forms of ideology and more experience at the helm of ideological forms of state and government and are therefore more capable of changing and/or maintaining the order of things according to their worldview.

2.3.1 The Relevance of Ideology to Social Transformation

Marx (1981) conceptualizes the relevance of ideology to social transformation based on his observations in France where bourgeois intellectuals perfected the constitutional power of parliament as the common rule of the bourgeoisie. Representatives of the bourgeoisie organized a military-bureaucratic form of government to destroy feudalism, establish capitalist society on its ruins, restore the Empire, and then destroy all means of preventing or *transforming* the Empire (absolutism), including disarmament of military regiments and ministries. Marx (1981: 64) notes that, “never did the bourgeoisie rule more absolutely.” However, their rise to power could not have been possible without a coalition of the two factions of bourgeoisie against all other class including the pure republicans and their allies, the social democrats. A further characteristic is identified by Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (1980) who argue collectively that ideology also reproduces the coherence of the bourgeoisie as a class, in this case, as a result of a coalition between Liberal and Conservative political factions and the commercial and industrial factions they represent. As Macdonald states: “If the Conservatives have in fact ruled the destinies of Canada, it was owing to the coalition between the Conservatives of Upper Canada and the seceded Grits headed by, Malcolm Cameron, John Rolph, and George Brown, and the Rouges of Lower Canada” (Private Letter to Sir Richard Cartwright, November 17, 1869, in Pope: 1948: Appendix XX, 427 and 752-5).

A further use of ideology is to establish the order and structures that oppress the peasantry and co-opt their labour with economic compulsion through interdependence which they must embrace to survive. However, the fact that conflict over the unequal distribution of material resources and political power is observed as a constant feature in these formations indicates that the imposition of a dominant ideology upon the masses is not ‘functionally all-embracing’. Anderson (1974:17) suggests that just because a particular struggle brings about the transformation of aristocratic agrarian property, feudal relations do not necessarily disappear from the countryside. Anderson (1974) further notes that as long as economic producers remain tied to the land, they block the potential of a free market necessary to capitalism. Marx and Engels argue that while the bourgeoisie have reached ‘incomparable wealth and productive powers’, they confront a social class which likewise has incomparable power (Marx and Engels, 1850). Marx and Engels (1955) argue further that the producing classes will occasionally rise up which denotes consciousness of the contradictions of class society. During periods of bourgeois social transformation,

the structures of the old society no longer exist for the producing classes. They are without property, family tradition, ethics, and community relations; they live in a society where modern productive relations have ‘stripped every trace of national character’ in the interest of market principles. Marx and Engels (1955:21) further note that “law, morality, and religion are to [the individual] so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.” It is within the ideological realm – the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or religious forms of society - that “men become conscious [i.e. of the conflict and contradictions between the material productive forces of society and the existing relations of production] and fight it out” (Marx, 1859). It follows then, that “all struggles within the State, the struggle between democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, the struggle for the franchise, etc., etc., are merely the illusory forms in which the real struggles of the different classes are fought out among one another” (Marx and Engels, 1947:28). Indigenous peoples occupying land in the fertile valley from Red River to the Saskatchewan should be considered in this regard, as must the Métis petit-bourgeoisie with control over the local technological means of production.

2.3.2 The Role of the Modern State in Economic Domination

Engels (1852; 1970: 326) defines the modern state as form of ideology; *a capitalist social formation* that arises at a certain phase of historical development in which “the Bourgeoisie, the Middle Class, the class of industrial and commercial Capitalists, is, socially and politically, the ruling class; which is now the case more or less in all the civilized countries of Europe and America.” The capitalist state is seemingly a separate entity that stands “beside and outside civil society” to prevent potential conflict of interest and class struggles from disrupting the economy; however, it is really “nothing more than the form of organisation which the bourgeois necessarily adopt both for internal and external purposes, for the mutual guarantee of their property and interests” (Marx and Engels, 1947:59). The state is thus a source of class domination; the “organized power of one class for holding down another” (Marx and Engels, 1970:32). The parliamentary form⁸ of its rule enables rule by the bourgeoisie as a class rather than by the regime of a privileged faction (Marx, 1981). The bourgeoisie are not necessarily selected, elected, or appointed by civil society to ‘rule over’ or direct its common affairs in this regard, but rather, as the dominant economic class, they usurp and take control politically as the historic bloc discussed in the previous section.

Marx and Engels suggest that the modern or bourgeois state has several identifiable characteristics, foremost of which are political, legal, juridical, and military structures that reproduce the economy. First of all, the production of commodities for the purpose of exchange permeates the structures of bourgeois society. The state becomes a broker in the distribution of goods and resources, maintained by taxation as

an instrument of violence, which according to de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867) is a duty of the bourgeoisie who are further obligated to provide for the means of *commercial* defense. Middle class officials in government, bureaucracy, the military and police, courts, and law must protect ‘public’ property which reproduces bourgeois power and wealth (Marx, 1948). While the centralized state is a necessary form of bourgeois power that is constructed so as to appear to “alleviate conflict and keep it within the bounds of order”, it is in fact the source of coercion, conflict, and struggle in bourgeois society (Engels, 1970:326). Engels (1970) argues that the bourgeoisie are engaged in constant struggle against the class whose rule it superseded as well as with those classes it must dominate after it comes to power. Two historical processes are noted by Marx and Engels (1970) in this regard: the anti-feudal struggles of the bourgeoisie and their struggles against the producing classes and contending petit-bourgeois factions. Marx and Engels (1955:20) also argue that ideology supplies the bourgeoisie and proletariat with political weapons to use against each other to this end. Marx’s (1981) observations of the bourgeoisie in France substantiate these assumptions and suggest that the goal of the French industrial and commercial bourgeoisie was to establish their worldview of capitalist society on top of the ruins of the military-bureaucratic-government that was forged in opposition to feudalism during the period of absolutism noted by Anderson (1974). Bourgeois order would thereafter be safeguarded by ideology in the form of the modern centralized state and its super-structural institutions, the formation of which required three things: 1) constant attack on the small-holding property owners to collapse the existing order; 2) the development of a dependent class of peasants subordinate to capitalist production and dependent on the state; and 2) the creation of a middle or ‘artificial’ class of officials within a centralized bureaucracy to administrate, legitimize, and reproduce this dependence. It is from within the state that the bourgeoisie implement their worldview of society based on several overarching - and discursive, therefore empirical - ideas.

2.4 The Role of Ideology in Legitimizing the New Economy, State, and Society

While their idea of the state materializes as repressive ideological form to oversee the economy, the bourgeoisie cannot reproduce the means of production – the basis of their wealth and power - with coercion and force alone. According to Marx and Engels (1947:39) “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas” where the ruling ‘material’ force of society is at the same time its ruling ‘intellectual force’. Those with the means of material production at their disposal also control the means of mental production and rule as “thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age” (1947:39). An immense ideological superstructure arises on top of the economic foundation to this end for the purpose of subjecting individual members of society to a ruling class worldview – its specific ideas, values, and beliefs - aimed at social transformation, legitimization of the new economy, and reproduction of capitalist society. Even though the ideas of the ruling class are

formed by their relationship to production, 'ideas' become the power, as Marx and Engels (1947:42-3) note, and take on a universal form in representing the general interest while oppressing the producing classes. The material basis of ideas such as 'private property', 'democracy', and 'freedom' are concealed in order to hold sway as the dominant forces in history.

Gramsci (1971:57fn) notes that the supremacy of one social group over another first occurs through domination by intellectual and moral leadership, or what he conceptualizes as political hegemony. State officials in government play a significant role in the development of ideas and the establishment of capitalist institutions and ideological forms of government, politics, law, juridical systems, taxation systems, state religion, and repressive public forces that are more favourable to ruling class interests than to those of the producing classes (Burtch, 1992; see also Beer's introduction in Marx and Engels, 1970: xxiv). However, the exercise of intellectual and moral leadership is equally important to winning public support and gaining class alliances necessary to winning power. This results in the hegemony of a bourgeois worldview where the illusion of a democracy exists between the leading groups and those being led in so far as the transformation of the political structure is concerned. The support of all classes and social groups is necessary in the development of the economy and this is achieved through the creation of universal ideas such as those concerning legal and religious structures that appear to favour all classes and social groups⁹ (Gramsci, 1971:56n).

2.5 The Relevance of Ideology as Social Reproduction: Moral Regulation, the Civilizing Process, Colonization, and Creation of a Capitalist World-system

As suggested previously, Marx and Engels (1947) and Gramsci (1971) propose the state as a form of struggle that includes the producing classes in periods of social transformation and development. The bourgeoisie engage the state and its ideological institutions to compel all nations, classes, and social groups to adopt a capitalist mode of production (Marx and Engels, 1955: 14). While the 'civilization' of members of the producing class is integral to legitimizing capitalist relations of production, it is a main element of reproducing bourgeois society as well. The bourgeoisie introduce what it calls 'civilisation' into their midst, and induce the contending classes to become 'bourgeois' themselves (Marx and Engels, 1955). Consent is a result of the 'prestige' of the bourgeoisie due to perceptions of good fortune, progress, and elevated position within the economic realm (Gramsci, 1971). This is what Elias (1970) calls the 'civilizing process' that establishes the bourgeoisie as the ruling class and entrenches their worldview. While Christian religion and ethics have a significant role to play in 'civilization' and learned self-constraint, self-restraint is also coerced through 'legal' sanctions and state discipline of dissenting groups engaged in the transformation of societies based on imperial, political, and/or military domination, such as that which existed in Rupert's Land between 1670 and 1867.

Moral governance and regulation of the self and of others is another way to reproduce a capitalist worldview. As Hunt (1982) suggests, governance is not restricted to state governments or dominant social classes. The social origins of moral regulation are varied and include a variety of agents that problematize the conduct, worldview, and/or culture of others in order to govern them including by members of the clergy. As Hunt suggests, the practices of governing others and self-government involve some form of moral regulation with a distinctive moralizing discourse that suggests that the conduct of certain subjects is bad, wrong, or harmful to society and needs to be regulated. Such moralizing practices are complex and stem from the worldview of the bourgeoisie in concert with various ideological forms to regulate the behaviour of the producing classes and lumpen-proletariat, differentiated as the deserving and undeserving poor (Hunt, 1982: 8). The class distinctions necessary to capitalism are further legitimated by ‘experts’ responsible for their relief, reform, and/or punishment. The origins of this practice in the North West are discussed in Chapter Four where ‘the Métis’ are divided into occupation classifications based on ancestry with the English-speaking Protestant group placed at an advantage over the French.

2.5.1 Wakefield’s Theory of Systematic Colonization

It is useful to introduce Wakefield’s¹⁰ theory of systematic colonization which Marx (1867) engages in his first volume of *Capital* to exemplify the way in which the bourgeoisie reward self-constraint and self-government as it pertains to the emergence of bourgeois society in Rupert’s Land. Wakefield (1849:41-88) was a colonial official who proposed to improve the policies and practices of British governments in colonial settlement, economy, and government, and the emigration of capital and labour to the colonies. He produced several policies aimed at ‘stimulating industry and skill, creating and supplying new objects of desire, promoting manufacture and commerce, and increasing the annual produce and income of respective classes according to their respective standards of living’.¹¹ As Wakefield (1849:49) suggests, “If you were asked for a summary definition of the contrast between barbarism and civilization, you would not err in saying that civilized men differ from savages in having their natural inclinations restrained by law, honour, and religion.”

Wakefield aimed to ‘revolutionize’ the free-granting of large quantities of land by Imperial governments in the colonies as a way to expand its territory in the Americas and South Pacific. The abundance and availability of free land in the colonies prevented the formation of a dependent labouring class, which interfered with the development of industrial capitalism in eastern Canada prior to Confederation. Wakefield proposed that the labouring classes should only be allowed to acquire land as property after it had been cultivated and ‘proved up’ or improved. Wakefield argued that without some barriers or restrictions to land tenure, the producing classes would not become dependent on the state

and/or wage labour. He proposed that entire populations be transferred - as a state - from the mother country for this purpose. Wakefield proposed that a delegation of upper class English men and women be sent to the colonies to establish the structure of capitalist society and the institutions of British culture needed to induce members of industrial and commercial capital classes to emigrate. The producing classes would be promised 'free' grants of land for cultivation and improvement to be transferred as property after several requirements were met.

Wakefield proposed that emigrants import their 'free' institutions with them, with emphasis on strict equality and provisions of religion for 'every' denomination¹² from England and Western Europe. The idea was to transplant an already established state including political classes of British society in the New World. Idle but productive - self-regulated - populations of Great Britain and select nations in Western Europe would be kept 'busy and happy' as they provided for the wants and needs of England. Wakefield's policies would thus remove the peasants and uncivilized 'savages' from Rupert's Land and open it up to capitalism while maintaining it as a periphery of Great Britain through strong ties of the upper classes with England. These classes would help to assimilate indigenous peoples resident in the territories as producers and British subjects to safeguard the land against the encroaching American republic. Well, that was the plan.

2.5.2 The Relevance of Ideology to the Transformation of a Capitalist World-system

While my review of the Marxist literature has so far discussed the relevance of ideology to classes and states in the context of social formation, the conceptualization of a capitalist world-economy is also engaged in this thesis. Wallerstein (1974) identifies a world capitalist system originating circa 1450 out of the 'ruins' of feudalism by way of geographical expansion through exploration and colonization, development of a worldwide division of different types of labour and labour control around the globe, and establishment of strong states as the nexus of control and development of the capitalist world-economy. England is identified as leading the way in expansion through colonization and the coercion of emigrant and indigenous populations in the extraction of resources and manufacture of commodities in the Americas. This enabled the development of a 'core' state of Great Britain strengthened through the establishment of military-bureaucratic states with an emphasis on force and the creation of standing armies to protect its economic monopoly and the creation of wealth through exploitation of labour in 'periphery', 'semi-periphery', and 'external' economic zones.

The process of global incorporation into the economic system put pressure on sovereign states to either 1) transform; 2) be replaced by modern political forms; and/or 3) be taken over by states already integrated into the system, including those of Great Britain¹³. Where Britain once relied on military and

political power to reproduce its economic Empire, by the mid-1800's – the starting point of this thesis – Britain was truly hegemonic in an interstate system of economic domination which by now included the United States and various economic zones in Asia (Wallerstein, 1989: 122). While decolonization of the Americas 'freed' the United States from political control of its economy 'Canada's' external or foreign trade remained under the legislative control of British Parliament to eliminate the risk of being drawn into the world system for the benefit of the United States¹⁴. Furthermore, the prime sources of agricultural labour power, raw materials, commodities, and available food in the Rupert's Land and the North West continued to be controlled by a ruling class from within the core states of Great Britain. Beyond the Company's control and pressures from the United States, I suggest that between 1670 and 1885, Rupert's Land and the North West territories were also being targeted by the bourgeoisie in France, Scotland, and Ireland as an underdeveloped periphery zone to be exploited for its abundant natural resources and cheap labour. This put pressure on both the eastern polity and British Parliament to strengthen the Canadian state through political and economic means that included annexation and commercial development of Rupert's Land. While indigenous populations would be organized and trained to extract agricultural and mineral resources, Rupert's Land was not immediately going to provide the highly populous market needed for the consumption of manufactured goods. Indigenous peoples would have to be integrated into capitalist society along with emigrants from Western Europe being settled in the North West for this purpose.

2.6 Locating Ideology and Ideological Forms in Capitalist Economic Structures

A review of the substantive literature reveals several ideological forms that are central to a worldview of capitalism and the development of a capitalist economy, society, and the modern state which reproduce the power and wealth of the bourgeoisie in a global context. As the Marxist literature shows, the bourgeoisie have a specific ideological strategy in which different factions of capital coalesce as a bloc to transform existing economies, states, and societies through the 1) establishment of a constitutional parliamentary form of 'government by party' to oversee the development of commercial infrastructure based on a) implementation of the freehold system of land tenure as a means of subsistence and surplus production; b) a division of (specialized) labour based on agriculture and manufacturing; c) ownership of the means of production as private property; d) the development of social classes of capital and labour to improve this property; and e) the circulation of commodities characterized by the M-C-M circuit; 2) implementation of common law to ensure production and circulation through the protection of private property; 3) creation of a bureaucracy as a nexus of power to administrate production, property, and; 4) the collection of taxation and expenditure of public revenue in the development of commercial infrastructure; 5) moral governance by clergy through state religion and education to influence behaviour and create

hegemony of the new economy, state, and society; and 6) establishment of an organized public force to coerce behaviour when ideas alone fail to induce consent.

2.6.1 Parliamentary Government

Government is both a coercive ideological form of state and an element of cultural leadership or hegemony. The form that government takes in society is based on the worldview of the ruling class (Marx, 1981). Government has a coercive role in capitalist society in the accumulation and distribution of resources but it also plays an important part in ensuring compliance and consent or hegemony of a capitalist worldview. Governments are distinguished from the state as the social dimension of power in the exercise of cultural leadership as it relates mainly to the practice of reconciling disputes over limited goods (Lukes, 2005). Governments hold legitimate legal authority to do this for a finite period of time, while the state is the more permanent and repressive structure which survives periodic parliamentary changes. A strong and unlimited government backed by an established bureaucracy is a necessary feature of bourgeois society in that industry and trade are only able to prosper through administration and taxation, which is allocated to industrial and commercial factions as grants of land or the numerous railway concessions and contracts needed to build commercial infrastructure (Marx, 1981). However, voluntary taxation has to be induced from the producing classes and capital under capitalism. This necessitates parliamentary government as a form of bourgeois ideology. Marx (1981) argues that ‘whereas before the French revolution the republican faction of the bourgeoisie rules in the name of the king, now the whole of the bourgeoisie rule in the name of *the people*.’ The seat of government becomes a public good rather than the property of a monarch, president, or political party.

Marx (1981) observes the parliamentary form of government as the socio-political basis of the common rule of the bourgeoisie. Parliaments are expressed by general elections which make its rule appear as the will of the people. The illusion of democracy prevents class struggle against capital and the transformation of bourgeois society: “Every interest, every social institution is here transformed into *general* ideas, debated as ideas” (Marx, 1981: 66). Marx (1981) argues that parliaments make legislation based on the ideas of the ruling class concerning their worldview of property, family, religion, and order which appear to be in the interest of the citizenry. The legislative, executive, and public power of the bourgeoisie is perfected in the military-bureaucratic state organization of bourgeois officials that springs up in the transitional period of absolutism (Anderson, 1974). State officials are former landowners and feudal dignitaries whose seigniorial privileges are transformed into paid administrative positions within the bureaucracy. While politicians come and go with elections and changes in public support, the state is the permanent guardian of economic order under the rule of law (and not of man), and in Canada, the state

is the embodiment of the monarch. As Marx suggests, the parliamentary republic is the only form of government that gives the bourgeoisie complete command of national commercial power.

Marx (1981) argues that ‘bourgeois republic’ signifies the formation of a united front and the unlimited despotism of one class over other classes. A parliamentary republic is the means of common rule by the bourgeoisie who subject the interests of subordinate classes to the ‘national’ interest, which in the case of France, was a bourgeois kingdom under control of the Catholic Church. While the parliamentary republic is Marx’s archetype of social reproduction, Marx and Engels (1850) observe the consolidation of power in a constitutional (parliamentary) monarchy *as the first step* in the formation of bourgeois society. Legislative power gives the bourgeoisie direct political power to transform the structure from within; to expand their interests in manufacturing ‘to an extent hitherto unknown, only to make way for heavy industry, the steam engine, and the colossal factories’ (Marx and Engels, 1850). Debates concerning the utility of representation by population versus the representative form of democracy established in Canada were observed in the data. In both cases, political power is vested in a polity which is said to be curtailed by a constitution. It must be noted in the case of Canada that John A. Macdonald, the leader of this polity, was among those who framed the constitution.

As pointed out previously, governments cannot effectively govern by coercion and/or with state violence alone (Gramsci, 1971:80f). Their authority and decision-making powers in the use of state revenue have to be legitimated, as Lukes¹⁵ (2005) suggests, and according to Weber (1947), so does the use of state force. The bourgeoisie engage the parliamentary form of governance to regulate social behaviour of the producing classes in this way. However, Gramsci notes a situation where the reliance on cultural leadership or hegemony and/or the use of force by state officials in government against other bourgeois factions is believed to be ‘too risky’ to bourgeois order. In such cases, state officials resort to corruption and fraud to procure the demoralization and paralysis of antagonistic factions by burying their leaders either covertly or openly in “order to sow disarray and confusion in his ranks” (1971:80f). Sometimes oppositional factions turn the tables on state officials in the regard, as was the case in the ‘Pacific Scandal’ of 1872 observed in this study. As Marx (1981) notes in the case of England, while the entire formation is designed to transform feudalism and bring the bourgeoisie to power side by side in an equality of rights, their unity in the establishment of a parliamentary republic is *in name only*. While landed factions continue to struggle against feudalism, the new, ‘more gigantic commercial bourgeoisie’ comes into existence to conquer the world (Marx, 1981). Legal and bureaucratic administration has an important role to play in this regard.

2.6.2 Law

Law is an ideological form of the state and also an example of hegemonic practice. Anderson (1974: 28) observes the revival of Roman law as a powerful form of bourgeois ideology integral to capitalist social formation. Whereas the Roman principals of *terra nullius* and *res nullius* are inferred in the *Law of Nations* and followed in the annexation of Rupert's Land in the case of the Métis, a system of English common law was adopted and applied as the rule of law (and not of man, ecclesiastics, or canons). The use of constitutional, civil, moral, and criminal law in territorial administration, economic transactions, and social control and coercion ensures production, property rights, and the commercial and manufacturing interests of the bourgeoisie. A codified body of laws enhance taxation which subsidizes the institutional military-state complex needed to transform bourgeois bureaucracy and state, which are integral to the spread of capitalism. As Corrigan and Sayer (1986) suggest, the 'nation' is a legal-cultural setting in which the bourgeoisie construct identity among dominant and subordinate classes with a view to hegemony through the dissemination of universal ideas, like 'Confederation'. As Smith (2006: 1) suggests, "Money may not make the world go around but investment had a great deal to do with Confederation." Marx and Engels (1955:14) observe that:

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised the means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier, and one customs-tariff.¹⁶

A legal constitution reproduces this arrangement through control of the modern financial and communication sectors including banks, public credit, government securities, financial capital, telecommunication systems, and rail and waterways. Organic laws or 'measures' are built in to prevent party struggles and ensure bourgeois order in this regard. The constitution is a living document based on future laws that ensure continued enjoyment of bourgeois liberties unhindered by the rights of other classes. Marx (1981) argues that in the case of France, revolutionary ideologies are embedded in the constitution in the form of unlimited rights of 'the citizen': personal liberty, liberty of the press, speech, and association, assembly, and education are absolute on the condition that these rights do not violate the equal rights of others, the law, and/or the public safety. However, Marx (1981: 34) argues that 'public safety' is really the safety of the social position of the bourgeoisie, protected and ensured by bourgeois law entrenched in the constitution to guarantee their rights by limiting the rights of others. Marx further explains that in this regard, the bourgeois constitution is a 'legislative work of art that reflects the ideal republic envisioned by the bourgeoisie'.

2.6.3 Free-hold System of Land Tenure as the basis for Specialized Labour

If the parliamentary (constitutional-legal) monarchy is the political basis of power for the bourgeoisie, the freehold system of land tenure is the material basis, as Marx (1981) notes in his observations of the oppression of agrarian peasants in France. The alliance between landed property and the commercial bourgeoisie results in a free market in land as bourgeois property. Because the rural relations of production were no longer feudal, the source of industrial manpower was readily available to develop agriculture, manufacturing, and subsequently commerce in the provision of new materials for consumption, including land and agricultural machinery (Marx, 1981). The free-hold is therefore ideological in that it reproduces capitalist relations of production and enables class domination but it is also a hegemonic form of land tenure.

There is no division of labour in the small-holding field of production; no use of science, diversity of development, use of technology, and/or inter-dependent social relationships (Marx, 1981). The feudal formation consists of self-sufficient families creating a food supply and manufactures for consumption in exchange with nature rather than society. The freehold is a bourgeois idea developed to establish dependence through the division of public land into small parcels of property for cultivation and the extraction of surplus produce and resources. Integration is integral to the development of a market economy and free competition through state regulation and development of agriculture. According to Marx (1981), agrarian peasants are historically conservative rather than revolutionary. Instead of rising up, they consolidate their holdings within the old order and class structure. The peasants are transformed into freeholders that ‘exploit undisturbed the soil of France’ while ‘slaking their youthful passion for property’ (Marx, 1981:126). Marx argues that these material conditions merely reproduce the social order and progressively deteriorate agricultural conditions while securing the indebtedness of the agriculturalist under bourgeois law and order. This results in progressive dependence of the agriculturalist to the state which creates a class of ‘officially recognized and administrated paupers’. While free-hold agriculture displaced feudalism, feudal overlords, obligation, and aristocratic landed property, capitalists replaced the aristocracy in drawing profit, interest, and rent from the soil. The bourgeoisie become the “[vampires that suck] out the blood and brains of the small-holding and throws it into the alchemist pot of capital” (Marx, 1981: 128). A further contradiction exists in that while the bourgeoisie ‘liberate’ the peasantry from feudalism, they depend on its subordination for the accumulation of wealth in property. While the bourgeoisie amass enormous fortunes from agricultural finance, mortgage, loans, commercial pursuits, and industrial production, the peasants are oppressed by a state which maintains this relationship through establishment of the following ideological forms.

2.6.4 Bureaucracy

Free-hold agriculture is the basis of an all-powerful bureaucracy that imposes uniformity over the whole surface of the land to be administrated from a central authority: the same amount of land is distributed to each individual with the same requirements for cultivation (Marx, 1981). Since the modern state is “the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests, and in which the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomised,” it follows that “the State mediates in the formation of all common institutions and that the institutions receive a political form” (Marx and Engels, 1947:60). In a capitalist political economy however, bourgeois institutions like the state and its executive, legislative, and judicial branches (plus government and parliament in addition to prisons, asylums, and a military-police force) must appear to exist in the interest of the producing classes and social groups even though they are ultimately used by the bourgeoisie to coerce and repress them¹⁷. Foremost is the bureaucratic administration of a dependent producing class to ensure ongoing resource extraction through their labour. Bureaucracy is thus an ideological form of the state and a hegemonic form of superstructure.

Marx (1981) argues that the middle class is the strength of bourgeois order. A faction is *created* to administrate labouring and unemployed surplus populations who are forced to rely on the state for ‘respectable alms’. Offices and posts are created and reproduced for bourgeois officials who ‘hound the producing classes as tax collectors and bailiffs’ (Marx, 1981). Marx and Engels (1979:82) suggest that “the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.” The social dimensions of the state include appointed state executives, elected members of the legislature, an appointed senate, salaried bureaucrats, lawyers, and unelected members of the police and military force¹⁸ who act in tandem with political-legal institutions as the ‘repressive public force.’ As Burtch (1992) suggests, the primary role of ‘officials’ is to assist the bourgeoisie in consolidating their dominant position over the producing classes. This is achieved through the production and dissemination of ideas disseminated as ‘public policy’ that is favourable to social order, private property, wage labour, and the accumulation of wealth (Burtch, 1992). Bourgeois intellectuals in government are therefore part of the ‘ideological political force’ that legitimates and reproduces the capitalist relations of production. However because this arrangement furthers the interests of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletariat, bourgeois intellectuals must develop public policy in such a way to conceal the ideological nature of bourgeois society.

Gramsci (1971) notes an established network of intellectuals established within the church, state, and secular institutions on a national and international scale including the bureaucracy for this purpose¹⁹. They become the ‘philosophers’ of society; the ‘manufacturers’ of history who represent the worldview of

the ruling class and produce and disseminate its particular ideas, values, and beliefs in such a way so as to appear abstract, neutral, and detached²⁰ (Marx and Engels, 1947:42-3). They exercise social and political hegemony to influence political consciousness in this regard. Marx (1981) argues that while bureaucracy is the means of preparing for the class rule of the bourgeoisie it is a 'prize' or instrument of whichever bourgeois faction wins power. Its main purpose is to administrate and oppress the producing classes in order to prevent their uprising and revolution.

2.6.5 Ideological Parties

Marx identifies two ideological parties that play important roles in the emergence of bourgeois society and the socialization of the producing classes toward hegemony of a capitalist worldview: the 'Party of Order' is comprised of pro-royalist factions with interests in land, finance, commerce, and industrial property. The Montagne is the 'people's party'; established by a group of petit-bourgeois social democrats in coalition with socialist leaders and workers. According to Marx (1981), the Party of Order is a clique of prominent bourgeois intellectuals – lawyers, officials, and politicians - who unite as a class under the parliamentary form of government with the purpose of establishing bourgeois world order from within the state.²¹ Their alliance, as Marx (1981) notes, is pragmatic in that the bourgeoisie believe they can steer society better as a class than they can as separate factions, including the creation and control - or 'pauperization' - of the agrarian classes. Their material interests are interwoven with the state machine where the bureaucracy can be controlled from within to ensure the prominence of bourgeois liberalism and the abolition of class struggle (Marx, 1981: 62; 81). Marx (1981) also observes that while the bourgeoisie operate as a class, representatives of respective factions struggle to elevate their leaders into positions of power.

While the party is significant to the reproduction of bourgeois class interests, bourgeois politics are a form of ideology based on ideas that enable certain factions to perfect parliamentary power in order to eventually overthrow it (Marx, 1981). Factions form alliances with the clergy, aristocracy, local propertied factions including social democrats to establish provisional governments, claim the lion's share of authority, and then uproot their rivals by excluding them. They turn on their allies within the clergy and transplant divine law and moral governance with bourgeois law and order. Marx (1981) further suggests that bourgeois factions cannot transform feudal structures or struggle against socialism alone; they can only rise in liberal revolt against their opponents with the support of the productive classes. However, prominent members of ideological parties are posted within the bureaucracy to extend or restrict the political rights of subordinate classes and exclude them from the state as necessary to maintain control. Electoral laws such as residency and property requirements restrict universal suffrage while protectionist

economic policies provide a bulwark against socialism and communism (Marx, 1981). While the bourgeoisie view democracy as anarchy (which they fear, according to Marx, 1981: 81), the franchise and secret ballot are extended to the masses when ‘the moral sway of the bourgeoisie decreases’ (Marx, 1981). While the bourgeoisie need mass support to achieve its goals, these protective features are established to ensure continued rule, a sort of legal safety-valve against anarchy, democracy, and/or dissent.

Even though the majority of the people live under economic conditions established by the minority class of bourgeoisie to oppress them, they remain oppressed as long as they fail to realize the ideological nature of party politics, organize as a political class, and develop organic representation. As long as they remain disorganized without the means of reproducing their interests, they must be represented by a master who “sends them rain and sunshine from above” (Marx, 1891: 124). The political party is thus a universal idea in that it becomes the representative of people from various classes within the frame of bourgeois society.²² Bourgeois power is strengthened by general elections which, as previously stated, make class rule appear as the will of ‘the people’. This legitimates the oppressive features of bourgeois society including taxation, state religion, and the use of military force in addition to scrutiny of the public sphere, repression of middle class intellectuals, and suppression of independent press and alternative or revolutionary worldviews.

Moderate republican social-democratic parties such as the Montagne represent the petit-bourgeoisie, which according to his argument, is a transitional class elevated above class antagonisms (Marx, 1981). As the proletariat are not yet organized, they are represented by the social democrats who advocate for people’s rights and interests in the state. Popular in rural France, the Montagne (see also the Chartists of England) aimed to get workingman’s political support in opposition to oppressive bourgeois policies. Social democrats are in a state of perpetual defense of the eternal rights of man (Marx, 1981). However, Marx (1981) asserts that in reality such liberal ideological politics really only represent the petit-bourgeoisie. As powerful as any one of the three factions of the Party of Order separately, social democrats ‘use the people and their inexhaustible resources against their oppressors’ to further their own interests. Their goal is not to do away with class society, but to harmonize capital and labour democratically²³.

2.6.6 Taxation

Every part of bureaucracy becomes a means of acquisition of resources and/or surveillance in the hands of the bourgeoisie and its officials. While the majority of society is oppressed in this way, the bourgeoisie instigate and take advantage of uprisings and insurrections not only to cleanse the state, government, and bureaucracy of opposition while leaving the military-bureaucratic structure and material

order intact, but to raise funds to establish its commercial infrastructure. This is the point of class struggle where Marx (1981) suggests that tripotage or ‘hanky-panky’ occurs. The Party of Order creates a moral panic over the urgency of commercial infrastructure or network of public safety needed to ‘protect’ the people and extinguish the threat. When there is no capital forthcoming while the threat exists (because the bourgeoisie are all in on the plan), bourgeois factions call out for ‘strong and unlimited’ government to avert crisis. The national banks must advance railway shares to government who promise to create employment and initiate public works, which increases the obligation of the people to pay more tax. This is where the dual nature of ideological domination is observed in its coercive elements of law and state (police) repression and in cultural leadership towards self-regulation of the tax-payer as a contributing ‘citizen’.

Taxation is the life blood of the state and its apparatuses of executive power: the bureaucracy, army, priests, and the courts (Marx, 1981). Strong governments and heavy taxes are the same thing (Marx, 1981). The small holding producer is burdened by taxation and the mortgages that are imposed upon his property. The state interferes with the population directly in the creation of pauperism through debt. Individual (consumption) taxes increase while manufacturing and commercial taxes decrease; the bourgeoisie make promises to workers while dissolving their associations; the peasants are expedited into debt through mortgage banks and loans to the bourgeoisie who benefit from their confiscated property. This property becomes a ‘public’ good to be governed by the state as ‘national’ wealth in community pasture and grazing land upon which communication systems are built and the infrastructure of commerce and trade arises. Centralization of these ‘public’ resources in the hands of government perfects the state and reproduces the economy and bourgeois interests at the same time (Marx, 1891: 122).

2.6.7 Organized Religion

Christianity has a major role to play in the formation of bourgeois order through moral regulation and proselytizing self-constraint and self-governance. While bourgeois alliances with clergy are integral to domination and control of the state, priests and ‘religion’ have a significant role to play in the oppression of the peasantry. The small holding producer is naturally religious and dependent on natural forces and the intervention of divine authority through providence (Marx, 1981). When close to financial ruin, the peasantry becomes irreligious and at odds with society and authority. The role of the priests is to act as intermediary and moral police. As Elias (1970) observes, organized religion plays an instrumental role in civilizing processes through conscience formation, conduct, and moral governance which is key to the transformation of rural societies.

2.6.8 Public Force

The military and a national police force are integral components of a capitalist worldview and the emergence of bourgeois society. Bourgeois society requires sacrifice, terror, heroism, civil war, and national wars to arise (Marx, 1981). In the case of England, while ideological parties and Christianity played a major role in developing bourgeois ideas, the military brought capitalist society into being (Marx, 1981). While military duty is a matter of honour and valour under feudalism, in capitalist societies, the unemployed lumpen-proletariat is transformed into a force of patriotic 'heroes' who plunder and revolutionize the world in defence of the 'nation' (Marx, 1981). They become the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, the duty of which is to put down uprisings if/when the peasant classes finally revolt. The public force works in tandem with state executive, legislation, and judiciary to coerce cooperation in the process of capitalist social formation.

2.7 Conclusion

A capitalist worldview of the economy, state, and society is ideological in that the central attitudes, values, and beliefs establish, legitimize, and reproduce the economic, political, and social structures necessary to further the interests of the bourgeoisie at the expense of producing classes and social groups. The literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that a capitalist economy, state, and society emerge by way of an allied class of intellectuals within the state who entrench their worldview of society within the cultural sphere in order to coerce and oppress the producing classes and gain control of the economy. The literature suggests that government officials, ideological political parties and the clergy aid in the transmission of a capitalist worldview through socializing moral regulation and constraint to induce consent and create a hegemonic worldview of capitalism.

According to Marx and Engels (1850) the bourgeoisie become 'all-powerful' within a capitalist economy, state, and society by establishing, legitimizing, and reproducing an economic order that reproduces *its* interest and *its* needs. This is achieved through ideology; the system of ideas concerning the state, government, law, philosophy, and religion described throughout this chapter. The bourgeoisie establish a modern form of state - a constitutional monarchist form of government, bureaucracy, property laws, and a system of taxation - to coerce social thought and behaviour with police, standing armies, a judiciary, and clergy at its disposal. Their leaders engage these political and civil forms to acquire land and cultivate resources, and create and legitimize a systematic and hierarchical division of labour that to establish capitalist relations of production (Anderson, 1974). Once direct power is achieved, state officials in government exercise cultural leadership or hegemony to legitimize the relations of production and distribution. Political hegemony is characterized by a combination of legal consent, coercion, and force where the use of force is legitimated by consent of the majority as expressed by government organs. This

chapter also introduced colonization and civilizing processes as the hegemonic means of integration and assimilation of agrarian producing classes and indigenous peoples in the context of this thesis.

Cooperation of the producing classes is integral to the formation of capitalist society in so far as they are induced or coerced to 1) support the transformation of the old economy, state, and society; 2) consent to the organization of a new economy, state, and society; and 3) participate in productive relations through cultivation, manufacture, and consumption thereby legitimizing and reproducing capitalism and the interests of the bourgeoisie on a global scale.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the theoretical and substantive explanations of the relevance of ideology as a mechanism of social transformation and the means of establishing, legitimizing, and reproducing capitalist social formations on a global scale. This chapter provides the methodology of my study in terms of how the relevance of ideology to the emergence of a capitalist economy, state, and society was examined in the context of Rupert's Land and the North West.

3.1 Historical Case Study Method: Rationale

As Ragin (1992) suggests, the primary goal of research is to link the empirical and theoretical realms; to use existing theory to make sense of evidence and to use evidence to refine and sharpen theory. The case study is a method of investigation in social science based on systematic appraisal of empirical evidence structured by theoretical ideas and principles (Ragin, 1992: 2; 218). Case studies figure prominently in the relationship between assumptions and evidence in this way. A case study is a research procedure whereby previous knowledge about a specific case is applied in a new context so that its connection to the social world can be investigated directly (Walton, 1992: 123). As Ragin (1992) further notes, case studies help us make sense of theoretical ideas by linking them to evidence, which allows elaboration as a final methodological step as is attempted in this research.

According to Ragin (1992:2), virtually all historical research is a case study because it undertakes analysis of social phenomena that is specific to time and place. However, as Walton (1992: 124) asserts, cases make no sense unless they are linked to something more general and framed by previously generated knowledge. As Wieviorka (1992) suggests, a case has little significance unless it refers to a precise theory and coherent method. An historical event such as the uprising of 1885 does not constitute a case in itself: it has no meaning even when observed as a concrete historical experience. A case of uprising is only significant when the observer has a means of interpreting it or placing it *in context* by relating it to theory or an empirical analytical category that enables us to see the bigger picture (Wieviorka, 1992: 160).

The importance of theoretically grounded case study research cannot be over-stated (Wieviorka, 1992). Theoretically grounded and evidenced-based research has proven to be a dependable way for social scientists to substantiate their arguments (Walton, 1992). As Walton (1992) suggests, case-oriented studies yield just as much empirical data as a set of variables or observations of the same phenomena prepared for quantitative analysis. A case study is not merely empirical; it is an opportunity to relate theoretical concepts and hypotheses with reality and historical fact (Wieviorka, 1992: 160). This does not mean that evidence of alternate explanations are ignored. While case studies substantiate existing theory, they 'oscillate between theoretical ideas and historical evidence providing suitable contexts for framing further sociological inquiry' (Ragin, 1992:14). Furthermore, case studies bring sociological and historical

approaches together to generate new discussions *about the likelihood of subsequent events* (Walton, 1992:129). Case study research advances knowledge by focussing on underestimated or overlooked aspects of society that provide original insight, as in this case of the relevance of ideology to the emergence of bourgeois social formations in the North West, which resulted in conflict and struggle that led to the uprising in 1885 and the demoralization of indigenous peoples on a grand scale.

As Walton (1992:134) suggests, the selection of a case must be justified. It must be a case of something important to society and the bigger picture. A case has to be relative to interpretations of other cases and either substantiate or preferably expand on earlier understanding (Walton, 1992:15). I have framed this study with the body of arguments in the Marxist literature and observations elaborated in Chapter Two. My observations of the emergence of a capitalist economy, state, and society in the north and western territories of Canada substantiate the theories put forth by Marx (1844-5; 1847; 1948; 1970; 1981), Engels (1890; 1970), Marx and Engels (1947; 1974), Gramsci (1971), and Anderson (1974). My empirical observations corroborate those made by Marx (1981) and Anderson (1974), which advance Marxist theory of the modern state as a bourgeois or ideological social formation that arises to reproduce the economy and therefore the power and interests of the bourgeoisie as a class at the expense of all other classes and social groups. As Walton (1992) suggests, such evidence-based cases are central to the advancement of theory. Employing case study methodology in this way creates an opportunity to discover new knowledge in terms of ‘being specific to and representative of a larger phenomenon’ (Ragin, 1992:15). As Walton (1992:126) suggests, case studies provide a model for explanation of concepts that can be used to solve new problems, on new terrain. Walton (1992:122-127) further suggests that cases can be modified conceptually and methodologically to challenge or reinterpret the causal process and explain facts in new ways that supersede earlier understandings: ‘the logic of a case study is to demonstrate an argument about how general social forces take shape and produce results in a specific setting under particular conditions.’ The process of identifying a particular empirical event, reflecting what it is a case of, and contrasting it with other cases are the practical steps toward constructing new theoretical interpretations (Walton, 1992: 134).

I have formulated this study of the emergence of capitalist society in Rupert’s Land and the North West as a case of ideology as seen in the political writings of representatives of the bourgeoisie following the methodologies described by Ragin (1992), Walton (1992), and Wieviorka (1992). In this case, the uprisings of 1869-70 and 1885 are consequences of ideology and the emergence of bourgeois social formations in the ‘Indian’ territories between 1867 and 1885. My study is based on Marxist theory and observations made in previous studies of the rise of the bourgeoisie in England and France, and the central ideas that enabled transformation of the existing economy, state, and society. However, this is a case of

something new in looking at representatives of industrial factions in Canada, and their use of ideological forms to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the new economy, state, and society. It also explains the role of bourgeois intellectuals in transmitting a bourgeois worldview throughout society to induce all classes and social groups to reproduce the social order and the ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs or worldview of capitalism that prevails in our society today.

This study therefore adds to a body of work that critiques ideology and the way that it is imposed on the masses; a body of work that has been “almost impossible to operationalize and substantiate empirically” according to Marshall (1998:170). I have attempted this by following Marx in conceptualizing ideology as a system of ideas aimed at controlling behaviour: an idea, attitude, value, and/or belief belonging to the bourgeois worldview aimed at influencing how we think about capitalist society in order to compel us to reproduce it. The ideas of executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the modern state, parliamentary form of government, bureaucracy, ideological parties, free hold system of land tenure, law, taxation, Christianity, and the public force have specific roles in the process. Whereas these are ideological forms of superstructure that coerce our behaviour toward the establishment and reproduction of the economy, bourgeois intellectuals are complicit in legitimizing their existence and influencing how we think about them as natural, universal, and unchangeable elements of society. This is a process that can be empirically observed and understood by subjecting such ideas to Marxist evaluation and critique (Macdonell, 1986).

3.2 Identifying Ideology Empirically

Ideology can be observed as discourse flowing from within agents of the state, parliament, bureaucracy, ideological parties, and/or church which can be examined for evidence of social interest. It must be noted that ideology also distorts and conceals certain elements of the ruling worldview. This presents certain problems in terms of making sure that data fit the measurement criteria of ‘discourse’, as conceptualized in the Marxist literature. According to Macdonell (1986), the statement is the elementary unit of discourse and all statements have a material basis. This means that discourse has substance, institutional support, a place, a date, an author, and as Marx (1981) suggests, interests: all authors belong to a class, faction, or social group and therefore have a specific worldview based on certain ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs. However, only the bourgeois engage ideology.

Questions also arise as to what discourse looks like in this empirical setting. Bourgeois discourses may be identified by a set of rules concerning who has the right or status to make a statement and from what institutional sites statements may come from: an election or campaign speech or participation in parliamentary debates, for example. Such texts are directly or indirectly a site of the unequal struggle

between conflicting discourses and positions. As Macdonell, (1986:46) suggests, it is intuitive to look to the author of a political text in so far as s/he is engaged in controlling individual behaviour in some capacity, as the representatives of industrial and commercial factions of the bourgeoisie in government are observed to be doing in this study. In doing this, a connection to the class from which the discourse is circulated can be observed. The effects that discourse has on the objects of the discourse in terms of the political (power) relations that arise and in which subjects (such as a ‘good citizen’ or an ‘evil villain’) take shape, as well as the implications of such power struggles for certain subjects, can also be accounted for (Macdonell, 1986:6).

Since class struggle suggests a relationship, counter-discourses must also be identified. We must look for the *reaction* of oppositional social forces in order to really understand how ideology is ‘ultimately shaped and preceded by what it is opposing’ (Macdonell, 1986). In this way, we can account for discourses that also arise against resistance and (try to) prevent it from reoccurring (Macdonell, 1986:122). In addition to discursive elements that conceal and/or distort reality, it is important to account for discourse as elements of a worldview that been prevented from entering the political arena (Lukes, 2005). It is also important to consider discourse as a ‘smoke screen’ or red herring used by the bourgeoisie to deflect understanding of the contradictory nature of capitalist society (Marx, 1981).

3.3 Data Collection

With Marxist theoretical assumptions and substantive observations and Macdonell’s (1986) methodology in mind, this study engages the political speeches and manifestos of John Alexander Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake as state executives, and as leaders of government and the official opposition in the Dominion government: “men of high financial standing in Europe, the United States and Canada” (Macdonald, 1880: 13). These individuals are conceptualized as representatives of the commercial and industrial-manufacturing bourgeoisie who were allied against local social forces all the while engaged in struggle with each other for control of resources in the North West: Macdonald as the leader of the Conservative Party and first Prime Minister of Canada; Mackenzie and Blake as leaders of the Liberal (Parliamentary Reform) Party and the Official Opposition in the House of Commons. While their worldviews will be presented in the following two chapters, brief biographical information²⁴ is presented in the following sections.

3.3.1 John Alexander Macdonald

John Alexander Macdonald was a lawyer, prominent Kingston businessman, shareholder²⁵, land owner and speculator, and land broker for British investors with numerous landholdings in the east, an

active politician engaged in provincial and federal politics including joint leadership of the Province of Canada with George-Etienne Cartier in the years leading up to Confederation in 1867 (Johnson and Waits, 2000). Macdonald was an advocate of British Empire and the representative a group of bourgeois industrial capitalists of eastern Canada, the United States, and Britain known as the BNAA as previously discussed in this paper and in Smith (2006). Macdonald had a central role in a delegation of allied eastern French and Anglo-capitalists and political elites of Upper and Lower Canada circa 1857 to England to lobby British Parliament for the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada. He envisioned *free* and unrestricted trade over untenured land, permanent colonization, agricultural settlement, and better 'Canadian' government of the North West economy. Macdonald was one of the 'Fathers of Confederation', a student of Alpheus Todd²⁶, and the first Prime Minister of Canada. He was the leader of the Conservative Party and an experienced parliamentarian with two successful terms of office in the Dominion government between 1867 and 1873, and again in 1878 to 1891, as well as one term as Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons from 1873 to 1878.

Born in Scotland, Macdonald immigrated to Canada with his family in 1820, where his father became a successful merchant and magistrate. Of Presbyterian faith²⁷ (Creighton, 1998), Macdonald had ties to The Orange Order of Protestant Loyalists in Canada (Ottawa, 1968a), and was also a member of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Ontario (Kirk-White, 2000). Macdonald advocated and adhered to moderate conservatism in public but was a Tory who preferred traditional notions of state support for religious institutions, leadership by an economic elite, and commercial expansion (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000). He opposed responsible government, secularization of clergy land reserves, abolition of primogeniture, and extensions to the franchise because "such measures were un-British and could weaken the British connection, the authority of the governor-general, and the necessary propertied element within government and society" (Canada, 1994). He held a federal view of Confederation where a strong central government limited the power of weaker provincial governments.

3.3.2 Alexander Mackenzie

Alexander Mackenzie was the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada from 1873 to 1880. Born in Scotland, Mackenzie immigrated to Canada in 1842. Mackenzie was an advocate of British Empire and a representative of the working class in general and merchant interests in particular. He was a devout and puritanical Baptist who introduced prayer in the House of Commons but engaged in political attacks on the

established churches as ‘symbols of institutionalization of privilege’ which he believed created ‘a loss of individual freedom of choice’ (University of Toronto/Univeristé Laval, 2000; Canada, 1994). Mackenzie was a stone mason and building contractor before coming to Canada, and an officer in his local volunteer infantry after. He was a member of the local legislature, a political Reformer, and editor of the *Reformer* newspaper. A Chartist²⁸ of working-class roots, Mackenzie had a ‘well developed’ body of ideas concerning 19th century liberalism and deeply ingrained beliefs in equality and egalitarianism (Canada, 1994). His ‘ideal’ society was one where the church and state were separated and rigid class structure was eliminated. He refused the offer of knighthood, declaring “we have no landed aristocracy in Canada, and never will” (CPAC, 2005).

Mackenzie formed the first Liberal administration on a platform of parliamentary reform in 1873 for one successful term in office until 1878. He was the Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons from 1879 to 1880.²⁹ He was an advocate of representation by population in government, and envisioned an economic landscape of agrarian society similar to that of Ontario, where independent farmers were ‘beholden only to themselves, and free of the restrictions placed on wage-earning labourers’. A proponent of economic liberalism, Mackenzie believed in freedom of mobility of social and economic goods, labour, and capital on a national and international scale: free trade. He believed that Reformers in Canada should attempt to prevent the types of institutionalized privilege that limited freedom of individuals, immobilized their social progress, and caused conflict between various social groups. However, he opposed Métis nationhood (Mackenzie, May 2, 1870: 1296). A strong advocate of Temperance, he envisioned a Temperance Colony on Crown land west of Manitoba and an expansive commercial and maritime network running through ‘his’ province from the United States to Hudson Bay and beyond.

3.3.3 Edward Blake

Edward Blake was born in Upper Canada to an ‘intensely’ evangelical family who emigrated from Ireland. He followed in his father’s footsteps as a successful lawyer, Reform politician, and judge, as well as a lecturer in law at the University of Toronto and Law Society of Canada. Blake’s liberalism was shaped by his family, religion, the law, and attachment to social change. He believed in secular education and representative government, and rejected unreasonable authority (Canada, 1994). Blake was the leader of the Liberal Party of Ontario between 1880 and 1887 and the Premier of Ontario from 1871 to 1872. He was the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada in 1872 and from 1882 to 1887. While never winning a term in government, he was Leader of the Official Opposition between 1882 and 1887.³⁰ He did not disagree with the ideas presented by Macdonald on matters concerning the North West, except in the

context of importing Chinese labour and extending the franchise to indigenous peoples: he opposed both measures as being against the wishes of the people. Blake was a strong champion of 'The Irish Cause'³¹ throughout his political career and a member of the Irish Nationalist Party in parliament after he retired from Canadian politics and moved to Britain. Like Mackenzie, Blake envisioned a province west of Manitoba but instead of as a Temperance Colony, for the settlement of Irish emigrants.

3.4 Data Sources, Collection, and Management

The data for this thesis come from a variety of primary archival sources, as well as from special editions and collected works. My original methodology was to review only the 'major' or 'long' speeches given and/or written by these individuals between the years 1880 and 1885. I defined a major or long speech as a 'definitive work' of each individual as selected by Library and Archives Canada (2001) for inclusion in their collection of Prime Minister's speeches entitled *First Among Equals* for the Government of Canada, and those comprising several edited works. I selected the 1880 to 1885 time period initially, believing it would adequately reflect the worldviews of those engaged in the struggle for authority and control in the North West, and the establishment of the economy and corresponding social formations leading to the uprising of 1885. I felt that a five-year framework would provide enough material to be able to determine the themes of the worldviews of each individual regarding North West economy, state, and society, and how their interests would be reproduced in the long term. However, I was unable to get extrapolate themes and/or identify the visions of the North West or of Canada held by its political leaders, even after reviewing the twenty or so published and/or readily available speeches given by Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake in this time period. Rather than illuminate a general view of the North West or Canadian society, these items generally referred to a specific event including 'The Pacific Scandal' or 'The 1885 Rebellion' for example. It was necessary therefore to broaden the time frame to 1867 to 1885, or at the beginning of Confederation as seen in House of Commons speeches collected as data. This proved to be a wise decision in that the earlier speeches outlined their ideas and their visions for a new economy, state, and society in the territories very well. I was thereafter able to formulate a clear picture of how the capitalist economy, state, and society emerged in the North West during this time period.

3.4.1 Debates of the House of Commons

The majority of data collected comes from *The Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*. I reviewed all volumes and all sessions from the years 1867 to the first session of 1886, with the exception of the second session of the second parliament circa 1872-3 which

was missing from the stacks. This was the period of dissolution of parliament after events surrounding ‘The Pacific Scandal’ however I was able to find Macdonald’s and Mackenzie’s major speeches made during this session in Adam (1891) and Buckingham and Ross (1892). Each volume of the debates contained upwards of fifteen hundred pages and required stringent methodology, limitations, and data management. These data are referenced by date and page in the text and correspond to the appropriate reference under *House of Commons Debates* in the bibliography.

3.4.2 Speeches from the Throne

I started my review of each volume of every session of every Parliament between 1867 and 1886 by reviewing the data found in *The Speech from the Throne*. Throne speeches are prepared by the Prime Minister and Cabinet and are read by the Governor General in the House of Commons and Senate at the beginning of each session of Parliament. These speeches are intended to share government’s ‘vision’ of Canada with the people through their representatives. This speech outlines the social and economic conditions of the country and declares the goals and intentions of government in this session through an outline of its policies and legislative agenda. These are relatively short speeches but provide a concise list of the topics to be discussed in the session debates. This narrowed my search and was helpful in looking for specific speeches concerning economic, socio-political, and cultural organization in the North West.

3.4.3 Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne

Following the review of throne speeches of every session of every Parliament between 1867 and 1885, *The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne* was reviewed. This is a lengthy speech read in the House by the Official Leader of the Opposition. It is prepared as a result of a six-day debate on the contents of the throne speech. It is an evaluation of the goals, intentions, policies, and vision of government and is preliminary to the actual session debates. This document is also helpful in looking for dissent or alternative ideas about economic, socio-political, and cultural organization in the North West held by the Leader of the Official Opposition as representative of the people’s interests as the ‘opposing’ ideological party.

3.4.4 Major Speeches by Index in House of Commons Debates

Index searches of each volume were conducted for every session of every Parliament between 1867 and 1885 for speeches, Bills, and debates concerning ‘Rupert’s Land’, the ‘North West’, and ‘North West Territories’³² which yielded a rich data set of the ideas and views held by Macdonald, Mackenzie,

and Blake concerning government and economic, social, and political development of the North West³³. Index searches were made in the same way for petitions, grievances, and protests coming from within the territories against the transformations taking place in Rupert's Land and the North West. Knowing the history of the region, I searched for speeches and debates referring to the Red River and Saskatchewan Valleys including Assiniboia, St. Laurent, Duck Lake, Batoche, etcetera, as well as Prince Albert and The Saskatchewan District in general. I searched for evidence of 'grievances' and 'petitions' noted by Mclean (1985), as originating in these regions to see if they had been introduced in the house between 1880 and 1885. They had not. I will note here that petitions coming from the Saskatchewan District and District of Lorne in 1880 and 1882 were mentioned in the House by Edward Blake in May of 1885 in terms of asking for more information about them and questioning their relevance to the uprising that began in March of 1885. The meetings of the farmers and settlers over their grievances in the District of Lorne in 1883 and 1884 were discussed in the same context. Blake stated in the house that he had heard that copies of the petitions and grievances, and intelligence about the meetings had been delivered to Macdonald by way of his officers in the North West, and that he wanted them brought into the session for debate. Blake requested all information concerning the activities in the North West leading up to the uprising be brought forward. He suggested that Macdonald was hiding information and filtering it as he had done in the case of 1869-70. Blake's request was never granted: "I have been asking for these papers for eight weeks and they have not been brought down; from day to day [Macdonald] has said they are being copied, they are being prepared, they will be ready soon, that he will bring down those that are not confidential, and so forth" (Blake, May 21, 1885: 2038). Macdonald responded as follows:

It is true [Blake] has quoted their grievances; it is true he has gone down to the cellars of the reading room and raked up every newspaper coming from the North-West, to read little paragraphs written by country editors for the special benefit of their special locality. He has read them as evidence of writings with-held by the Government. Whenever he has read a paper he has said: There is no answer to this; and he supposes there must have been an answer, and that answer must have been suppressed (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3118).

3.4.5 Major Campaign Speeches

Major campaign speeches for Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake were also located in microfilm catalogues and secondary sources and were reviewed in the same way as their major speeches. Of note are 'The Pic-Nic Speeches' given by Mackenzie and Blake in the summer of 1877 throughout the Province of Ontario. This was a fifteen city tour where everything from the importance of Reform government to the rights of workingman, as well as 'The Pacific Scandal'³⁴ was discussed. Their attention to the workingman was noted as corresponding with Marx's (1981) observations of the Montagne social democrats as the petit-bourgeois of France in this regard. Campaign speeches made by Macdonald and

Mackenzie are not limited to Canada, and there are several speeches made in Britain for the benefit of British investors (as also noted by Smith, 2006) that are included in this review.

3.4.6 Editorials and Political Press Organs

Various news organs are mentioned in the debates and personal letters of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake. Although I do not review them extensively given the already-extended parameters of my study, this verifies theoretical assumptions made by Macdonell (1986) concerning the existence of a political press or state apparatus as Althusser would suggest, and the importance of identifying ideological discourse empirically in this context. As Macdonald states, “we had the *Hamilton Spectator* all right ... the proprietor ... obtained a position in the Hamilton customs office (Macdonald, to B. Chamberlin, 27 November, 1856 in Ottawa, 1968:443fn1). Furthermore, “You will do me a personal favor by giving Mr. Lemmon his Rifle Company. He conducts one of the best newspapers in Western Canada”³⁵ (Macdonald, to Baron Dr Rottenburg, 18 July 1856 in Ottawa, 1968:368). The *Atlas and Colonist* became the official organ of government of Upper Canada in 1857 until it was sold in 1860 (Macdonald, 20 January 1856, Toronto, in Ottawa, 1968:334fn3). The *Ottawa Citizen* was Conservative, as was the *London Free Press*. Many Conservative politicians and political allies were also editors, journalists, publishers, and proprietors of political newspapers including *The Kingston Argus* (Ottawa, 1968:441fn3), the *Brockville Statesmen* (Ottawa, 1968:53n), *The Kingston Chronicle and Gazette* (Ottawa, 1968:11n), *The Kingston Daily News* (Ottawa, 1968:37n; 166n), *The Magnet* (Ottawa, 1968:441fn3), *The Morning Herald* (Ottawa, 1968:321fn), *The London Prototype* (Ottawa, 1968:470fn), *The Albion* (Ottawa, 1968:40fn), *The Royal Standard* (Ottawa, 1968:40fn), and *The Leader* (Ottawa, 1968:283fn). The *Globe*, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, and *The Mail* were considered Liberal organs.

3.4.7 Proclamations, Declarations, Personal Communications, Memoirs, and Letters

A significant amount of data generated by Macdonald and Mackenzie comes in the form of letters and correspondences found in the collected works of Pope (1948) and Buckingham and Ross (1892) respectively. These data were reviewed in the same manner as speeches, looking for specific themes or information about how the nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned in the North West, how they would be organized, and in whose interest.

3.5 Organization of the Data

Over six hundred pages of data were originally collected in this research project, three hundred of which were used in this thesis and organized in the following way. Every speech and document was reviewed for themes concerning the author’s vision for Rupert’s Land and the North West in terms of the

nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned and how it would be organized. These themes were reviewed following the literature with focus on the observations made by Marx (1981), Marx and Engels (1947), and Anderson (1974), and the instructions of Wakefield (1849) regarding: 1) the organization of the economy including social structure and practices, free hold system of land tenure, the relations of production, the social order (of classes), and the economic arrangements and relationships between the state and capital and labour including groups of workers, farmers, settlers, merchants, Treaty and non-Treaty Amerindians, and French and English-speaking Métis; 2) the organization of the state as an ideological form that legitimizes or justifies these arrangements including its executive, legislative, and juridical branches, a parliamentary (constitutional) monarchy, bureaucracy, political parties, and a public force; and 3) ideological forms of law, Christianity and Christian ethics and education as the means of inducing cultivation, cooperation, community, or society which reproduces these arrangements.

After I started to collect and review the data from within the new time frame, I realized that those engaged in social formation and struggle in the North West were using the *Law of Nations* (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867) as their guide to establishing capitalist society in the North West. At this point I started looking for the following themes in the data as evidence of the bourgeois philosophy emanating from this treatise: 1) the principal object of good government in providing for the necessities of the people and procuring a 'plenty' in the state; 2) the principal objects of good government in providing for the 'happiness' (property) of the nation; 3) the principal object of good government in fortifying and defending itself against external attack; and 4) specific means of attaining these objectives. De Vattel provides detailed instructions to this end, which I observe to be the 'colonization' and 'civilization process' designed to coerce emigration and settlement of Christian emigrants from Europe and indigenous peoples as the capital and labour elements of capitalism.

As de Vattel suggests, in procuring necessities, governments must ensure that there are adequate workers. It must retain workers that are useful and encourage the labour and industry of all. He goes on to say that after the introduction of private property, governments must ensure the cultivation of the soil as a means of subsistence and a way to improve the value of Crown property. It must build grain storage, prevent private acquisitions of large tracts of land, encourage farming, and do everything possible to ensure that the people produce the greatest revenue possible. Governments must also ensure a means of commerce between nations. It must cultivate home trade to furnish the citizens with whatever they want, which increases the population and the power of the state. It must carry on a properly directed foreign trade so as to provide the people with things they cannot furnish themselves, and to increase the riches of the nation as a source of wealth and plenty. Government must establish a means of taxation to build infrastructure, highways, and canals, and establish money and banking as the means of commercial

exchange. A nation is perfect once it can provide for itself and increase the wealth and power of the state (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867; pp.32-46).

In providing for the happiness of the nation, government are advised to instruct the people that happiness is first of all found in individual perfection, and to teach them the means of obtaining this goal. It must enlighten the people to know that liberty is the natural inheritance of mankind. However, liberty is subject to lawful authority and the people must learn to obey³⁶ and be subject to law. They must learn to be good citizens and to love their country, to distinguish between good and evil, and be taught to love virtue and abhor vice. This must start at a young age with civic education. Men of learning were thereafter to be educated in the arts and practical sciences including morality, jurisprudence, politics, and war³⁷. However all men are obliged to know God's laws and views and to serve him.³⁸ While the citizen has the right of freedom of conscience and from being compelled to worship a certain religion, the nation has the right to choose and establish a religion or religions to follow and for worship in society.³⁹ The nation is obligated to establish a means of justice. The means of attaining speedy justice with certainty must prevail in a nation so that the people can enjoy their liberty and property in peace. Good laws and a means of imposing them must be established. A nation is considered perfect once its citizens are civilized, obedient, loyal, virtuous, good, and otherwise 'happy subjects', whose state can assure them justice and security of their property (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867; pp.47-86).

A nation is considered perfect when it can protect itself from external threats. In providing for its defense, government must enable the nation to subsist and preserve itself against external threats. It must increase national strength by increasing the population. It must ensure that the people can support their families and provide the necessities of life. It must direct and protect the poorer classes – especially the farmer – against harassment and oppression, and the imposition of taxation. Government must attract new subjects. It must encourage marriage and procreation and discourage celibacy⁴⁰. It must reward men who rear new subjects with certain privileges and exemptions. It must cultivate mass bravery, valour, discipline, and military ability to be capable of repelling a warlike enemy. Government must develop national wealth as a source of power. It must encourage commerce and foreign trade as a way to acquire public and private riches⁴¹. It must help to enrich the wealth of individuals who are capable of contributing toward the state, "especially in modern times, when war requires such immense expenses" (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867; p. 89). A nation is obligated to measure its power by that of its neighbours and to keep its strength equal to or greater than theirs to prevent them from rising above it. It can form alliances with weaker states to this end (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867; pp.86-211; 390).

When a state can no longer provide for its people, it has a right to take possession of land that is not in use and settle it with colonies. While the ‘Indians cannot be confined in narrow limits’ they can either be treated with, or the land intended for possession can be purchased. The colony thus becomes part of the state of the mother-country and an equal as one of its possessions. While colonists retain their citizenship, ‘native-born’ peoples must become subjects, unless they are permitted to retain their own form of government. However, this is considered dangerous in that it ‘weakens the conquered country without strengthening the power of the victorious state’ (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867; p. 390). After reading de Vattel’s text, the data were reviewed for evidence of these principles of his treatise as they relate to the organization of a capitalist economy, state, and society in the North West. To address each article in the *Law of Nations* as they appeared in the data was beyond the confines of a master’s thesis however the main principles observed as discourse are outlined to preface my findings in Chapter Five.

3.5.1 Further Considerations

Because the majority of materials reviewed were from collections available for reference use in the library, archive, and/or reading room only, during limited hours and out of town in the case of Prince Albert, verbatim quotes revealing these themes as discourse were recorded using a laptop. This was also done to reduce my carbon footprint by avoiding the cost and loss associated with photocopying thousands of pages of documents. The data was organized by theme as they were collected, and then filed according to the author for future analysis. Each author had their own file, and once collection was finished, the data for Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake was collapsed into one file entitled ‘Worldview of the Bourgeoisie’ under thematic headings⁴². The data were color coded for easy reference even though, as Macdonald suggests, all three leaders had the same objective with regard to the North West in expanding the British Empire (Macdonald, January 30, 1885: 22). While this study is qualitative, a tally was kept of the occurrence of themes using a system of tables to enable future studies of this nature using quantitative analysis.

3.6 Analytical Framework

I start from the theoretical position that ideology is transmitted from within the centralized state via state executives and leaders of government and the official opposition, or Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake in this case. Recall that the modern state and its executive, legislative, and judicial branches as well as parliamentary forms of government are institutions identified in the literature. As such, bourgeois social interests can be observed as discourses within their public and political communiqués emanating from within the state concerning foundational (constitutional), criminal, civil, and electoral laws, executive orders, military and police actions, parliamentary measures, political party campaigns, and editorials and

public opinion pieces in respective news organs⁴³. The central ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs observed in the discourses of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake regarding the economy, state, and society in the North West were subjected to critique for evidence of ideology or the expression of social interests. My analysis follows the theoretical assumptions discussed in Chapter Two where ideology is conceptualized as an integrated system of ideas produced and disseminated by the bourgeoisie aimed at coercing behaviour. Specifically, the Marxist literature suggests that certain ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs are designed to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the relations of capitalist production, the state, and society, and therefore the power, wealth, and interests of the bourgeoisie as a class. The next task is to identify discourses that lead to the establishment, legitimization, and reproduction of social formations in Rupert's Land and the North West. A general analytical question was asked in this regard:

- What was the nature of the new social formation envisioned in the North West by representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie within the state and government of Canada?

Elements of capitalist economic structure were identified in the literature and explained in Chapter Two, including private property, capital, a specialized division of labour, social classes, commodities, and a commercial infrastructure. The capitalist state and its executive, legislative, and juridical branches were also conceptualized as ideological forms and explained in my theoretical chapter, as were law and Christianity. This question is answered and explained in Chapter Four and Chapter Five in the context of evidence of the emergence of these social formations in Rupert's Land and the North West.

3.6.1 Data Analysis

The first task is to identify how the new economy, state, and society would take shape in the North West. One set of questions is asked in this regard:

- How were the new economy, state, and society to be organized and established in the North West?
 - What were the mechanisms of transforming the existing economy, state, and society?

Various ideological forms were identified as conceptualized by Marx, Engels, Gramsci, and Anderson and explained in Chapter Two. Among these are ideas of private property in the form of the freehold system of land tenure, capital investment in a rail and waterway system, specialized agricultural and manufacturing labour, and commodities to be circulated in the form of raw materials and manufactures. The emergence of these forms in the North West is explained in Chapter Six. The literature also describes various ideas that usher in a capitalist state to legitimize central control of the economy including a

parliamentary form of government, law, and bureaucracy. A second set of questions is asked in this regard:

- How were the new economy, state, and society legitimized?
 - What were the mechanisms of inducing and/or coercing support?

This set of questions is also answered and explained in Chapter Six in terms of how capitalist structures were legally justified in the context of their purpose in the North West. Philosophy and religion are explained as ideological forms in the literature in that they influence social thought and compel behaviour toward production. A third set of question seeks to determine the relevance of civil society in coercing production in the North West:

- How was the new order reproduced?
 - What were the mechanisms of social reproduction of the conditions and relations of production?

These questions are also answered in Chapter Six. As discussed briefly in the previous chapter, state representatives of Christian nations and especially those of the British Empire look to the *Law of Nations* as their guide in transforming and organizing commercial societies. It is important to look for evidence of its use in Rupert's Land and the North West and if so, explain how it was used to legitimate emergent forms of social and legal order. Gramsci (1971) asserts that governments cannot reproduce socio-political structures by coercion and force alone. Discourse does the ideological work of inducing consent and coercing behaviour. Colonization is explained in the literature as an ideological program aimed at inducing settlement and coercing economic dependence. Such policies can be observed in written texts, verbal communications, social interactions, and as politics within the ideological superstructure that aim to shape the attitudes, values, and beliefs or worldviews of people, and prevent alternative ideas from entering the public sphere. Most importantly, in every instance of discourse it must be determined which class, faction, or social group will benefit. A fourth set of questions was asked in this regard and be explained in Chapter Seven:

- What was the relationship between the ideas of bourgeois officials and state policies in the emergence of the new economy, state, and society in the North West?
 - What were the claims and arguments being put forth?
 - Who was to benefit?

Furthermore, as Lukes (2005) notes, while state executives coerce behaviour so as to put an end to and/or prevent disorder, they also ignore democratic appeals for rights, protest over resources, and/or resistance against an idea. They do this to suppress public knowledge of dissent and class struggles with and within the state. It is important to account for this part of the decision-making processes in that even though no political action is necessary, outcomes can be observed including reproduction of the social order. A final question was asked to this end, and my observations are also explained in Chapter Seven:

- What were the implications of ideology for the various local social groups resident in the territories?

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter explained the methodology of my historical case study in terms of finding out what a bourgeois worldview entails in the context of Rupert's Land and the North West of Canada. It outlined my data sources and the utility of the case study method in data collection, management and analysis. The analytical framework I used to make sense of the data was presented in this chapter. Specifically, this chapter explains how the data – the ideas as discourses of bourgeois intellectuals within the state – were subjected to rigorous questioning to locate evidence of social interest in a bourgeois worldview that guides the organization of capitalist societies.

Chapter Four

Historical Background: The Rise of the Industrial Bourgeoisie in Canada, 1852 to 1867

4.0 Introduction

This chapter sets the stage for my thesis in terms of describing the type of economy, state, and society that existed in Rupert's Land and the North West between 1670 and 1870. A review of several case studies provides a brief historical background of socioeconomic and political organization of these territories. While Payment (1990) and Code (2008) observe the significance of the Métis to fur trade production and nascent agricultural society, Mackay (1949) identifies the Company's form of government of the fur trade in Rupert's Land and the North West between 1670 and 1870. This chapter explains the significance of the Hudson's Bay Company to British commerce, empire, colonial government, the emerging social order, and the emerging capitalist world-system, as well as the company's responsibility for moral governance of indigenous peoples to this end. This chapter also outlines the military-bureaucratic form of colonial government organized to oversee the fur trade as the basis for bourgeois social formation in the North West. It explains the formation of an historic bloc of eastern capitalists and their proposals to British Parliament to transform the old state, economy, and society with capitalist enterprise and industry. This chapter describes the worldview of this bloc in terms of their ideas about organizing the producing classes toward capitalist production. This chapter describes how transformation occurred through annexation and colonization of various socio-cultural and occupational groups of relatively independent and 'free' producers in order to gain access and control of the North West and its resources. While such transformation in Rupert's Land and the North West were seen as strengthening the basis of Imperial domination, it was also believed to be the means of global incorporation into the economic world-system for Canada.

4.1 The Hudson Bay Company

In 1670, King Charles II of England granted sweeping imperial powers over the North West part of America⁴⁴ "not now actually possessed by any of our Subjects, or by the Subjects of any other Christian Prince or State" to a group of merchants known as the Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson Bay (Hudson's Bay Company, 2009:1). *The Royal Charter of the Hudson Bay Company*⁴⁵ (hereafter "The Charter") was issued based on previous knowledge gained from earlier exploration of the lands, territories, and resources of north and western America (hereafter "North West"), the waterways of the Arctic Ocean, and through observations of the people and their country produce⁴⁶ (Mackay, 1949; see also Nute, 2000). The trade expedition was led by French-Catholic brother-in-laws from New France, the explorers Radisson and des Groseilliers, backed by American businessmen with connections in England (Nute, 2000). The main purpose of the venture was for "discovery of a new Passage into the South Sea" and for "finding some Trade for Furr's ... Mineralls and other considerable Commodities" for the "publick Good

of our people” (Mackay, 1949:38; see also Maton, 2009). The Charter anticipated *future* discoveries by “meanes whereof there may probably arise very great advantage to us and our Kingdome” (Hudson’s Bay Company, 2009). Capital for the venture was raised among a group of English shareholders “given to developing colonies ...” a number of whom were “members of the new Royal Society which had recently published its *Transactions giving some Accompt of the present undertakings, studies and labour of the Ingenious in many considerable parts of the world*”⁴⁷ (Mackay, 1949:22-6).

The Charter gave the Company and its shareholders sole rights to resource extraction in the North West in three divisions: Rupert’s Land, ‘The Indian Territory’, and the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island (Mackay, 1949). This privilege included the rights to commerce of all “Merchandizes, Goods, and Other Things Returned” from the waterways and lands that lay ‘within the entrance to and adjacent to the Hudson’s Bay’, to be “henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our Plantation or Colonies in America, called Rupert’s Land” (Hudson’s Bay Company, 2009:1). The Company retained exclusive licenses which were renewed periodically until 1859, to explore, trade, and commerce “to and with all the Natives and People” inhabiting now and in the future, as well as ‘to and with all other Nations inhabiting any place adjacent to the Territories not already possessed.’⁴⁸ Additionally, the Company would govern and administer “The Indian Territory, all the wilderness not under colonial rule ...” (Mackay, 1949:257).

The Charter enabled access to the resources of the North West through construction of forts and factories thereafter considered Company property which was to be protected by Imperial security and defense. The Charter gave the Company military political power to constitute and administer reasonable laws convenient for “the good Government of the Company and of this property for the better Advancement and Continuance of the said Trade, traffic and Plantations” (Hudson’s Bay Company, 2009:1). It allowed for their use of Imperial military force through “Power and Authority ... to continue or make Peace or War with any Prince or People whatsoever, that are not Christians”, in any territory where the Company held property, or in places adjacent to the territory where Company officials regulated all socio-political and moral matters relating to the fur trade (Hudson’s Bay Company, 2009:1).

4.2 Socio-political Organization in Rupert’s Land, 1670 to 1870

The purpose of the Charter was to ensure the economic dominance of Great Britain through the establishment of a military-bureaucratic social formation to oversee exploration and extraction of resources in Rupert’s Land and the North West Territories. This arrangement also aided in the reproduction of the British Empire in the context of a world economic system through establishment and control of a skilled labour force. Capital and shareholder interests in the Company were continuously maintained by an Executive Committee responsible only to its proprietors, a group of royal friends and

favourites “close to the throne” who paid an obligation directly to the Crown for this purpose (Mackay, 1949:22-6). Signed under warrant of the reigning Monarch and governed by its Privy Council, The Charter and its supplements withstood all challenges in its first century including those arguing against its monopolistic, nepotistic, and patronage characteristics (Mackay, 1949). The original Charter was supplemented at least four times during the course of Company operations, all upheld by the highest courts of the British Empire (Mackay, 1949:22-6).

The Company helped to establish a capitalist order in the North West as the basis of its mercantilist⁴⁹ operations in North America. Company officials were considered ‘lord and master of the soils’ in Rupert’s Land, Assiniboia (Red River), and the ‘Indian territories’. As Sprague (1988: 20) notes, almost every adult male at Red River in 1850 was engaged in productive relations with the Company, either through selling the Company his labour, or selling a commodity manufactured from local resources. In the early 1800’s three-quarters of the Company’s permanent labour force in the North West were ‘Orkneymen’ from Scotland, the largest season element was the overarching Métis group, the offspring of European and Amerindian parents who were tied to the land and the Company in servitude through ethnic heritage and fur trade occupation (Mathews, 1987:145). By 1819 the labour force was more diversified with two-thirds represented by indigenous and other European groups where Métis producers in the North West and Red River were estimated to be in the two thousands (Mathews, 1987: 145) . English-speaking Métis producers did not come and go in the territories as Amerindian and/or French-speaking Métis *gens libres* or Freeman contracted within the Company structure could and did. Instead, they were largely employed in stationary positions within the Company’s organizational structure and were required to settle in the trading areas where they exchanged their labour and manufactured goods for supplies (Mackay, 1949).

This relationship engendered a quasi-feudal⁵⁰ social organization in the North West further divided along class, occupational, cultural, and political lines. The arrangement paved the way for the ‘Kingdom of Canada’. This is the title suggested for the new social formation by Macdonald, who saw Canada as an auxiliary Kingdom and associated and allied power of the British Empire, and not as the dependent colony envisioned by Mackenzie and Blake:

A great opportunity was lost in 1867 when the Dominion was formed out of the several provinces. ... Had a different course been pursued – for instance had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary kingdom ... I am sure that the Australian colonies would have applied to be placed in the same rank as the Kingdom of Canada. ...the change of title from Kingdom to Dominion was made by Lord Derby, then foreign minister, who feared Kingdom would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees. ... Derby - a very good fellow, but [one who] lives in a region of perpetual funk” (Macdonald, to Lord Knutsford, Riviere du Loup, 18 July

1889, in Pope, 1921:449-51; see also Creighton, 1998; Johnson; 1969; Canada; 1968a; 1968b).

Mackay (1949) identifies a bourgeois social hierarchy originating in the 1700's. A small number of commissioned officers, gentlemen, and partners shared in the management duties and percentage of net profits; a larger number of salaried chief traders and clerks comprised the administrative middle classes; approximately 3,500 Company Freeman, voyageurs, servants, surgeons, cooks, temporary, seasonal, and other wage labourers plus 139,000 members of the Amerindian trading population were situated accordingly (Mackay, 1949:364). While Company gentlemen and retired officers were given title to generous grants of land,⁵¹ Métis producers and servants were not (Mackay, 1949). Rather, they were 'allowed' to squat on land down river from the French-speaking Métis river lot settlements, a conventional land tenure system that was hotly contested after 1867⁵² when Acts of legislation including the *Manitoba Act* and *Dominion Lands Act* were instituted to prevent this practice (Macdonald, to Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Ottawa, 18 November, 1879, in Macdonald and Pope, 1921:141; December 10, 1880: 20-30; Macdonald, July 6, 1885).

Cooperation with Company operations was initially coerced through alcohol dependencies developed through use of rum and brandy among Amerindian populations engaged in the trade until 1835 (Mackay, 1949). Payment (1990) suggests that Métis producers were further oppressed by harsh civil sanctions imposed for free trading activities in addition to the restrictions placed on their ownership of property (see also Mackay, 1949). Employment with the Company became a form of moral governance where the Métis were divided into English and French-speaking groups and given a specific place in the Company structure depending on ancestry. While occupations reserved for descendents of French fur traders required a combination of diplomacy, navigational and intellectual skill and hard, overland labour, their British counterparts were placed in administrative positions and clerking apprenticeships as previously discussed. Such arrangements eventually led to the creation of class society followed by expropriation of the people from the land as a precursor to industrial capitalism (Marx, 1968). In this case, English-speaking Métis were placed at an advantage by being 'forced' to settle as permanent employees of the Company.⁵³ While Mackay (1949) observes a class structure developing in the North West as early as 1835, Payment (1990:43) observes class *antagonisms* occurring among Amerindian and emerging Métis communities throughout the North West beginning in the mid-1800's over (free) fur-trading rights, and increasing rapidly after land appropriations in 1870, where by 1885, "social intercourse was charged with tension, sensitivity and intrigue."

Company proprietors, the Governor, and a seven-member committee appointed a Governor-in-Chief for the purpose of administrating the social order and regulating the struggle over resources through

a local ad hoc council. Administrators decided upon company wages and gratuities of its tradesmen in two geographical regions⁵⁴, and made all noteworthy appointments in office including magistrates, postmasters, interpreters, apprentices, and sailors, so as to “guard against irregularities and expenses arising from favouritism and partialities” (Mackay, 1949:362).⁵⁵ Chief Factors, Chief Traders, and Clerks were the de facto government in charge of Company divisions and posts under orders of an appointed superintendant who issued instructions for the ‘successful’ partnership style management of Company assets and trade.⁵⁶ The superintendent’s post at the capital of Fort Garry was considered the nucleus of the Selkirk Settlement⁵⁷ at Assiniboia (Mackay, 1949:261; 361). Chief Factors were selected from here to act as ‘magistrates in the wilderness’ and instructed on how to keep the peace by following the laws of England when enforcing company rules.

The Council of Assiniboia governed the territory from 1821 to 1870. It was created by the Company after the merger with the North West Company, and while appointed, the Council represented Catholic, Protestant, English, Francophone, Métis, and English-speaking Métis peoples of Red River (Mackay, 1949). Amid a complete absence of legal precedent, the rules simply stipulated that “Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild and conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality” (Hudson’s Bay Company Resolutions, 1835, Mackay, 1949: 369). With the exception of spirituous liquors, Amerindian peoples were to be “liberally supplied with requisite necessities, particularly with articles of ammunition, whether they have the means of paying for it or not” (Hudson’s Bay Company Resolutions, 1835, Mackay, 1949:369). Further, “all Freeman, English-speaking Métis and Iroquois trappers, having no other means of paying for their supplies than with their hunts [were to be] treated on the footing of Indians”⁵⁸ (Mackay, 1949:356). As witnesses state, “it was all utterly simple, and its rightness lay in the fact that it worked” (Mackay, 1949:267).

As Mackay (1949) observes, there were jails but no prisoners. Perpetrators of violent crime – when rarely committed – were always brought to justice. It is suggested that the majority of people living in the Red River community under Company governance were content.⁵⁹ Company officials did not object to the prevailing practice of squatting for land tenure as long as squatters did not interfere with the fur trade (Mackay, 1949). It was generally the practice of Company men to “trade successfully in the interests of the proprietors” in exchange for wages which they used to buy property in land. A North West society comprised of indigenous and emigrant squatters and free-holders was being built in the interest of future generations⁶⁰ upon which an entire superstructure particular to the fur trade arose. A bureaucratic form of state was created by the Company in 1821⁶¹ to govern the trade and prevent the seigneurial system of New France from taking root. As Mackay (1949) suggests however, while Company proprietors benefited from this system for two hundred years, the rise of capitalist society in the North West was based

on such proprietorship of large tracts of land⁶², a state-protected trade monopoly, protection of Company property and territory by a resident British public force, and control of the local producing classes through socio-cultural norms.

4.3 Moral Governance in Rupert's Land, 1670 to 1870

Moral governance of North West society began circa 1835 (Mackay, 1949:219). Because the fur trade depended upon peace, productivity, and local alliance, the colonial office stipulated that certain rules and regulations be applied for the “gradual diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to Indians” (Mackay, 1949:223). This came largely in response to growing British public consciousness of the use of brandy and rum in the trade and the impact of alcohol on Amerindian populations in the New World. No one in the Company's employ was at liberty to vary or change the rules, customs, standard, and/or mode of local trade after 1835. Governors were tasked with the gradually weaning off of ‘Indians all over the country from the use of spirituous liquors to which they are so much addicted’.⁶³ Temperance was to be accomplished with “effectual civilization” through prohibition of alcohol for sale, trade, or use in the North West. Proportionate increases of ammunition and tobacco and “moral and religious improvement” within the territories were to be substituted for alcohol (Mackay, 1949:371-2). Forty-two Anglican missionaries were established and supported by the company for this purpose in concert with the state; the Roman Catholic mission at Red River received financial support as did various religious and educational works along the west coast and in the British colony of Vancouver Island.

Company officers were required to facilitate this process in their day to day dealings within the community of ‘families, Freeman, Company Servants, and Indians attached to their respective charges.’ This would be accomplished through 1) solemn readings of every Sunday divine service of which every man, woman, and child resident is required to attend together with “any of the Indians who may be at hand, and whom it may be proper to invite”; 2) furnishing women and children with occupations suited to their age and capacities “best calculated to suppress vice and promote virtuous habits” in the course of the week; 3) always addressing and habituating the mother and children to converse in the language of the Father whether English or French; and 4) encouragement of the father to devote part of his leisure hours to teaching the children in their A.B.C.'s and Anglican and Catholic Catechisms together in preparation for further elementary education as time and circumstances permit.⁶⁴ While the clergy and junior officers undertook religious, civil, and moral governance in the trading communities, commissioned officers and gentlemen of the Company went exploring. Their missions took them beyond the fur-bearing area of the inland territories where they continued the work of earlier Arctic expeditions in searching for an overland,

coastal, and/or northern passage to the Orient.⁶⁵ Company men ventured deep into the Alaskan frontier where ‘no Englishman had gone before’, where they were at risk of either being ‘mistaken for an American or shot’ (Mackay, 1949). After the Company merged with the North West Company in 1821, priests, among them Father LaCombe - “the most celebrated of French Catholic missionaries” - enabled communication between British Company frontiersmen and Chiefs of the north where an abundant fur trade ensued thereafter (Mackay, 1949:250).

After the international boundary was fixed in the Oregon Treaty of 1846, Company men were involved in preventive measures to avert general uprisings among southern Indian populations along the west coast and in American territories with large resident British populations. When such measures failed, favours were called and ransoms paid to their allied Chiefs⁶⁶ to entice cooperation and/or control their people in order to avoid American-Indian war. As Mackay (1949:256) suggests, while The Charter was the authority in the North West, it was the discipline, orderliness, self-control, command, and authority of Company officers that governed it and enabled its early transition from “primitive to civilized state without the bitter, painful fumbings (sic) which have been the common experience of the history of territorial expansion.” While this is debateable, one element of Company governance must be noted here. While the Company’s economic and political structure certainly influenced the social organization of its Amerindian producers as described by Payment (1990) and Smith (2007), cooperation *from the bottom up* enhanced the ability of Company officials to organize, govern, and control production and productive populations. Otherwise, state-guaranteed monopolies, proprietorships, and preserves over territorial resources, Amerindian peoples, and their trade could not have continued peacefully for almost two hundred years, even with the use of spirituous liquors until 1835 as Mackay (1949) observes. While the ruling class creates peculiar sentiments, illusions, modes of thought, and views of life based on material foundations, conditions, and relations, the single individual derives them through tradition and upbringing as the starting point of his activity (Marx, 1981:46).

4.4 The Emergence of the Bourgeoisie as a Class in Canada, 1852 - 1867

When crop failures, price fluctuation, stagnation, and overproduction threatened capitalist production and economic prosperity circa 1849-50 in England and France, capitalist development in North America was seen as the means to avert and/or survive national trade crises leading to global depression. Both factions of the bourgeoisie looked to the New World as a source of great power and wealth, and their race to industrialize the United States in the mid 1850’s spurred the Canadian bourgeoisie to action. Conservative British elements of Tory persuasion known as the ‘Family Compact’ and the ‘Chateau Clique’ discussed earlier had become the dominant classes in Upper and Lower Canada (Collins,

1883:36). They believed in a society organized around British institutions and strong ties to the Empire, and rose politically by aligning themselves with the existing military government in Eastern Canada, seizing control of the local fur trade, and appropriating available land through patronage of political offices of which ultimate control rested with England (Teeple, 1972). They were instrumental in the development of capitalist society in the North West on top of the ruins of the Company's military-bureaucratic-government.

As Collins (1883:36) suggests, this bloc comprised the 'executive' council of advisors to the imperial Governor of either Tory or Whig persuasion. As Wakefield (1849: 202) argues, they 'pulled his strings' in colonial matters in order to reproduce their interests, and were therefore opposed to responsible government and restrictions on the use of imperial power in economic pursuits. While Wakefield noticed a tendency for infighting between class factions and with the Colonial government as well, they were observed as 'sticking together' on pragmatic matters such as confederation and capitalist development. The Tories ruled as an oligarchy in Canada until the 1840's when a responsible form of government was established in response to the struggles and 'rebellions' of this period (Teeple, 1972). While this transformation uprooted their control of the state and central government, Tory stakeholders in industry and commerce began developing ideas for the union of the Maritime colonies with the Province of Canada and the annexation of the North West to the Dominion of Canada, to be implemented by their representatives in government as early as 1854 (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 66-7). They believed that a union of the British colonies toward westward extension of territory and annexation of Rupert's Land and the North West Territory to Canada was 'so desirable an object that *party* would be forgotten for the time' (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 66).

It became necessary to act as a cohesive historic bloc to enable the transfer of "all of the powers which the Hudson's Bay Company previously had in the NWT for their own purposes" (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 71-2). As Macdonald states, "possession of the North West country must be got, peaceably if possible, but got at all events" (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 71-2). Time was of the essence to stave off "[American] annexation" and "prevent out and out war, loss of credit of a new State (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24). An alliance between ruling class English and French factions was seen as the only way to protect and expand 1) their interests; 2) global domination of the British Empire; and 3) the strength of England as a core state throughout the world. This was to be accomplished through acquisition of indigenous land and colonization by way of emigration. As Wakefield (1849) suggests, nothing would stand in their way: the Tories were unanimous in the belief that 'the natives were a race fit to be governed by a superior race', and that *they* were the chosen, superior race. Emigrants were seen as equally 'inferior in the order of beings', and as such were to be enticed to settle, but excluded or 'stone

walled' from government in the event that they would use it to change the order of things⁶⁷ (Wakefield, 1849:201-3).

Two things were necessary to this end: a confederation of established British colonies with the province of Quebec and the formation of a British North American state. Macdonald argued that it was “hopeless to think that free-men would consent to be united to Canada without representation in the Canadian Parliament” (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1318). Mackenzie supported the idea of economic federation and a strong centralized government as the political means of consolidating British power on this continent. However, factional representatives were merely creating the *illusion* of cooperation between French and English as the only way to get a “firm hold of the vast country of rich and fertile regions that lay to the West of Canada” (Mackenzie, December 5, 1867: 195). This would be resolved with the emigration and colonization of British subjects in Rupert’s Land and the North West for the purpose of motivating *British* investment capital and labour needed to develop commercial infrastructure and create the means of a capitalist order. As Macdonald states:

But the truth is you British Canadians never can forget that you were once supreme, that Jean Baptiste was the hewer of your wood & drawer of your water⁶⁸. You struggle like the protestant Irish in Ireland, like the Norman invaders in England not for equality, but ascendancy ... you are in the minority & therefore cannot command the majority of votes. The only remedies are immigration and copulation and these will work wonders (Macdonald to Chamberlin, Montreal, 21 Jan, 1856, in Ottawa, 1968: 337-340).

According to Mackenzie “the mission of men aspiring to statesmanship involved extending the Canadian empire westward. The territory between Ontario and British Columbia – an empire in itself - is a necessary outlet for the energies of young men who were seeking homes in the United States” (1st Parliament, in Buckingham and Ross, 1969: 235-6). It was agreed that economic domination in the North West was to be achieved by ‘friendly’ means - not only with the people of the North West - but with the French, and by suggesting they were equal, liberated, and free:

If a Lower Canadian Britisher desires to conquer, he must “stoop to conquer”. He must make friends with the French; without sacrificing the status of his race or lineage, he must respect their nationality. Treat them as a nation and they will act as a free people generally do – generously. Call them a faction, and they become factious (Macdonald to Chamberlin, Montreal, 21 Jan, 1856, in Ottawa, 1968: 337-340).

Allied French and Anglo capitalists envisioned free trade over untenured land, permanent colonization, agricultural settlement, and better ‘Canadian’ government of the North West economy. When the Company’s exclusive license to trade approached expiration in 1857, the allies launched a political campaign against its renewal (Mackay, 1949: 257).

John A. Macdonald was among the political elite of Upper and Lower Canada in 1854 who believed that all factions would prosper from the Company's demise.⁶⁹ He would take the lead role in directing negotiations with the Company to get them to "surrender their rights and claims to the North West Territories in the interest of the rising fortunes of Canada" (Macdonald, 1869: 16). A lawyer and prominent Kingston businessman with numerous landholdings in the east, Macdonald acted as joint leader of the Province of Canada⁷⁰ with George-Etienne Cartier, a French *Patriote*. They united their interests with the express goal of asserting Canada's interest in the North West against the Company's limited rights and the threat of American expansion (Macdonald, 1969: 81n). Macdonald was a proponent of colonial inter-dependency as a means of using Imperial connections to take action against those with a view toward American annexation⁷¹ and to keep the British in Canada⁷² through colonization and capitalist development (Macdonald to Drummond, December, 1854, in Ottawa, 1968: 216-17).

Macdonald was of the view that central government should organize colonization processes in the North West, not Downing Street, as it was usually done in the periphery zones. A special committee was first established to investigate the mass emigration of British and Canadian-born labour and landless, property-less, and unemployed settlers to the United States (see Teeple, 1972). This committee concluded that the main reason for this exodus was the 'unwise land policy'⁷³ of the Imperial government in Canada' where ownership of all available land had become concentrated in the hands of a merchant class who did little to settle or cultivate it (Teeple, 1972:58). Empire-building through colonization in Rupert's Land and the North West had begun in the late eighteenth century with the creation of provincial governments in the British Colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, made possible through provisions in the *Constitution Act, 1791* to grant vacant and wild lands according to English law and custom⁷⁴ (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715Appendix XIV). When the colonies were united under *Union Act, 1841*, some land was set aside as source of revenue for the central state, but most of it was granted in reserve for the Protestant clergy, Loyalists, military and political friends, as well as British and American business partners of governors resident in Canada, in order to ensure their loyal citizenship to the Crown and the British Provinces (Teeple, 1972).

The best land in eastern Canada and the Maritimes was monopolized by 'friends of the governor, who, once appointed to political office, became preoccupied with maintaining their privileged position as part of the landed aristocracy' (Teeple, 1972:47). Social reproduction of their interests in land occurred through the driving off of settlers and immigrants and the prevention of new settlement which curtailed cultivation, population growth, economic progress, and the establishment of an internal labour market.⁷⁵ The result was a class of landless, property-less, unemployed people without a means of subsistence or enough money to immigrate to the United States, repatriate in Europe⁷⁶, or, *purchase consumable goods*

(Teeple, 1972). While exploitation, alienation, monopolization of land, and the buying and selling of land, raw materials, and manufactured goods were the chief means of wealth accumulation for ruling Tory factions in Upper and Lower Canada in the pre-Confederation period, their land practices impeded commercial development through the employment of immigrant labourers (Teeple, 1972; Wakefield, 1859). As Teeple (1972) notes, there was no immediate need to promote settlement in the pre-Confederation period as long as the population was sufficient to extract and transport staples; it was practical to keep the population small enough, weak enough, and spread far enough apart to prevent successful uprising during the formative and fragile years of the centralized state. However, dire material and political conditions caused by state practices of land tenure resulted in mass exodus and rebellion, after which Canada's colonization policies were reformed to ensure stability, productivity, and consumption in the colony. Further, if Canada was to become an 'auxiliary to England arranged around its Central Power with South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand' it had to do its 'share'⁷⁷ (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24-5).

Industrial development was a necessary component of Imperial defence as Wakefield (1849) suggests. In order to rapidly develop production, economic dependence had to be created by artificial means. This would occur by way of a system of concentrated settlement of all classes of British subjects including gentry, capitalists, and unemployed but hardy, white populations exclusive of convicts as a source of labour from Britain, as well as the selling of land for a sufficient price. Poor immigrants would have to work until they could afford to purchase land, and long afterward in many cases, as Teeple (1972) notes. The revenue from land purchases and settlement fees would be used as an emigration fund to defray the cost of bringing 'constant and regular' replacements of labour. According to Wakefield (1849:87), the creation of infrastructure, wage-workers, and a labour market would encourage colonial capitalists to invest in manufacturing which would spur the development of industrial capitalism. More importantly, the emigration of investment capital and labour to the colonies would increase the wealth, population, and strength of the mother country as a core nation in the world system. To stimulate industrial development in the North West, the "high and patriotic objectives" of "prosperity, spirit of moderation and wisdom" would be undertaken (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:627; 772-777; 1867). Wealth would be created and maintained by establishing government in every settlement where it could easily intervene, inform, and transform every aspect of social, political, and cultural organization. Foremost to the task of state executives in this regard was the 'civilization' of Amerindian peoples as the means of peace and security in the territory and a prerequisite to colonization. A Royal Commission was proposed in 1856 for the purpose of inquiry into the best "means of securing the future progress and civilization of the Indian tribes in Canada," and the "mode of so managing the Indian property so as to secure its full

benefit to the Indians, without impeding the settlement of the country” (Macdonald, 11 July 1856, Toronto, in Ottawa, 1968: 365).

4.5 The Relevance of Ideology to Social Transformation, 1852 to 1867

Macdonald envisioned Rupert’s Land and the North West as the means of Canada’s independence and strength as a sovereign state in the interstate world-system through resource extraction for eastern manufacture, and set about to organize the necessary industrial capitalist infrastructure. He also realized that ties to Great Britain would have to be maintained for two reasons: 1) the bourgeoisie depend on the state to control the economy, and 2) the state in Canada was weak, especially in comparison to that of the United States in terms of taxation and a public force. In order to protect the territories from the United States, Macdonald believed that Canada had to remain a dependent colony: “If the question was between independence and annexation I would choose annexation to prevent out and out war, loss of credit of a new State. Backed with the power of England we are free from these dangers. Left alone, it may be that the lion and lamb would lie down together, but the lamb would be inside the lion” (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24). However, it was Macdonald’s position that Canada did not have to be passive in a colonial relationship. He believed that it would be in the interest of the Empire ‘if England saw eye to with Canada regarding the North West in order to benefit from the colonies for a great length of time through the extraction and manufacture of its resources’ (Macdonald, 27 January, 1850, in Ottawa, 1968: 166-7; 1969: 69). The House of Commons in London agreed and began to assess the potential of Macdonald’s vision. In 1857-8, Macdonald led a delegation of industrialists to England⁷⁸ to lobby for the rights to the property on the grounds that Rupert’s Land was Crown land, and not private property belonging to the Company, and to petition for control of its colonization and commercial development (Macdonald, 1969:81n). Citing the ‘devastating effects’ of Company practices⁷⁹ on Amerindian populations in the Indian territories, he appealed to Parliament to appoint a committee to consider the state of its British possessions under Company administration and control.

Representatives of French and English factions presented a united front against the Company’s system of government and land tenure in the North West as ‘primitive and outmoded’. As Mackay (1949) notes, Company officials tried to deflect critique of its military bureaucracy in a period of ‘expanding political and social liberties’. At the same time, the Company was expected to give evidence as to the character of the territory and the potential of the land and its people to adapt to capitalism as an equally oppressive form of economic organization. Agricultural cultivation and colonization, missionary establishment, the establishment of laws, courts, and governance, construction of infrastructure, industrial development, and the restoration of free trade toward the formation of an agricultural labour market were

elements of a capitalist social formation that Company officials knew would bring an end to the fur trade and its monopoly control of the economy (Mackay, 1949:257). Company supporters gave negative accounts of the favourability of the land for cultivation, which Mackay (1949) suggests was done in part to protect their fur trade interests, Company officials agreed to help with agricultural settlement in Red River as long as it retained its exclusive license and monopoly rights to trade. While Canada was ‘vitaly’ interested in retaining *all rights* to the North West as a British territory of the Dominion with established and settled colonial boundaries, its representatives did not want the responsibility of governing it or assuming any administrative responsibilities ‘right away’ (Mackay, 1949:269-273). Instead “... [the] idea was to get the Company to surrender a lot of their posts, now comparatively of little use to them ... and [then open] them for settlement” (Macdonald, 11 August 1857, in Ottawa, 1968:443fn1; Toronto, 27 November 1856, in Ottawa, 1968:398). With a view toward provincial sovereignty and future legislative rights in the North West as ‘the only way’ to progress and advance as a nation, Company officials agreed to administrate for the Red River⁸⁰ and Saskatchewan⁸¹ Valleys but only in terms of providing transportation and communication for the purpose of establishing European settlement to retain their social position as a political faction of the bourgeoisie. There was little discussion of the nature and type of local commercial structures to be established and/or mention of future relationships with indigenous producers beyond the creation of the ‘Indian Register’ and the drafting of a policy aimed at the civilization of indigenous peoples as farmers’ from 1852 to 1867⁸². However, this was a policy for which all parties were encouraged to approach in a “spirit of conciliation and justice” so that settlement could be implemented right away (Mackay, 1949:274).

It was proposed that Canada should acquire all arable land in blocks of twenty or thirty townships, as well as exclusive exploration and survey licenses, mineral rights, and titles. The delegation advocated for a railway from the head of Lake Superior to Red River for settlement and revenue purposes, and from there “across the continent to open trade with China” (Mackay, 1949:269). Parliament believed that an arrangement could be made between the government of Canada and the Company in this context. The Company eventually agreed to cede all parts of ‘Indian Country’ in the North West for these purposes on the condition that ‘Canada shall be at the expense of governing it, maintaining a good police, and preventing trade competition’ (Mackay, 1949:266-7). Experts testified that the existence and maintenance of Company ‘force’ for the purpose of temporarily governing the country and maintaining peace until the government of Canada could implement Confederation and organize a commercial infrastructure in the North West was “more essential to Canada and to England than it [was] to the Company” (Mackay, 1949:273). Parliament agreed that the Company should continue to hold its presence in the ‘Indian Territory’ for this reason however the question of the Company’s trading rights was still on the table.

Those present from the Vancouver Island colony voiced concerns about a 'lack of adequate defense against the Indians' and lobbied for immediate colonial government and a treaty arrangement for 'the disposal of agricultural products' on reserve land. Members of the clergy insisted on education and preparation for the 'inevitable' rise in European settlement among Amerindian populations, and advocated that the use of rum in trade be stopped immediately (Mackay, 1949:268-9). Alexander Isbister⁸³, an English-speaking Métis Company clerk, was among those who opposed the continuation of the Company's trade monopoly and rule on that grounds that while there was 'ample' room for agricultural settlement in the North West, the interests of a trading company in 'Indian Country' were not compatible. It was unanimously felt that the Company - not its political structure - should be abolished and free trade restored (Mackay, 1949:269). The Company remained conciliatory amid an increasing list of terms on the condition that Canada must honour its "sacred" license and right to trade (Mackay, 1949:266-7). Macdonald (December 9, 186: 223) was not convinced that the Company held any legal rights to trade in the North West, but believed that England did.

Macdonald argued for the British Parliament to be 'just and reasonable' in his proposal to transform Rupert's Land and the North West through annexation to Canada as the basis of its incorporation into the global economic system. He petitioned the Crown to transfer sovereignty to the government and Parliament of Canada which included the rights to legislate for the North West as it saw fit (December 9, 1867: 222-229). British Parliament sided with the Company in terms of recognizing its property title to Rupert's Land but generally, any legal rights to an exclusive trade license were ignored (Mackay, 1949:280). Before Rupert's Land could be sold and its title transferred to Canada, British investors had to be compensated (Mackay, 1949:280). Annexation was accomplished through the purchase of the territories by the formation of a stock syndicate to manipulate control of Company proprietorship which ultimately changed hands in 1863. It was the goal of the newly formed *International Finance Society* to 'own the territorial Empire and hold it for a price' by developing and offering stock in a company for "Passenger Traffic and Telegraphic Communication across the Continent of British North America ... in the interests of Empire solidarity" (Mackay, 1949:276-7).

Existing Company proprietors responded to this plan favourably and were paid one and a half million pounds in the sale after a majority of shareholders accepted the offer of three hundred pounds per share. Macdonald was a principal negotiator of the terms to transfer the authority of the Charter in Rupert's Land with the sale and surrender of Company title (Canada, 1864; Mackay, 1949:276-7; 280). Although title had not yet been surrendered at the point of Confederation in 1867, Clause 146 of the British North America Act proclaiming the Dominion of Canada over the territory made provision for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North West Territories into the new Canadian state (Mackay,

1949:281). State executives would control Rupert's Land by tying a British state comprised of all classes of British people and their institutions to the land as a "conservative bulwark against the liberal ideas of the American Revolution" (Teeple, 1972: 48). Canada's commercial infrastructure would double as a "highway of immigration" from Europe to the fertile valleys of the Saskatchewan plains; "the land of hope for hardy youth" who "seek new homes in the forest" in the "interests of Empire solidarity" (Macdonald, 1864, in Mackay, 1949: 280).

The Rupert's Land Act, 1868 was passed by Imperial Parliament to enable "Her Majesty to accept a Surrender upon Terms of the Lands, Privileges, and Rights of The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," and to admit "[the whole of the Lands and Territories held or claimed to be held by the said Governor and Company] into the Dominion of Canada." This Act created the *North-Western Territory* and gave the Government of Canada the power to "make, ordain, and establish within the Land and Territory so admitted as aforesaid all such Laws, Institutions, and Ordinances, and to constitute such Courts and Officers as may be necessary for the Peace, Order and good Government of Her Majesty's Subjects and others therein." The Act stipulated that until such time as the Company's proprietary rights were extinguished, "all the Powers, Authorities, and Jurisdiction of the several Courts of Justice now established in Rupert's Land, and of the several Officers thereof, and of all Magistrates and Justices now acting within the said Limits, shall continue in full force and effect therein." However, there was a further provision that "nothing herein contained shall prevent the said Governor and Company from continuing to carry on in Rupert's Land or elsewhere Trade and Commerce."

The Rupert's Land Act, 1868 is reminiscent of the principles of the *Northwest Ordinance, 1789* under terms by which North and Western expansion would occur in the United States. Formerly a territorial possession of New France and then Britain, the land north and west of the Ohio River was protected under this ordinance and entrenched in the Constitution after it was ceded to the United States in 1812. The main similarities toward 'white' settlement are the creation of new states and provinces instead of the expansion of existing states and provinces, the establishment of territorial governments by a Governor and Council, representation by population based on the franchise, and various legal and property rights. Civilizing processes aimed at the perfection of 'good, obedient, and productive citizens' were to be instituted in both territories as essential elements of good government where after the 'happiness of mankind' (property) would be ensured through the establishment of religion and Christian education to govern the morality and knowledge of the people (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 10; November 24, 1875: 24; May 3, 1880: 1942; March 17, 1881: 1426). There are two central differences between the Canadian *Act* and American *Ordinance*: while the *Northwest Ordinance, 1789* restricted enfranchisement to 'free' men that created a legal distinction between property owners and those in a state of tutelage, the

Rupert's Land Act, 1868 did the same thing, but with the intent of removing all legal distinctions between indigenous and emigrant 'Canadians' thus creating 'British' subjects.

The eventual sale and transfer of the North West to Canada abolished the Company's trade monopoly and the existing land tenure system in the Red River and Saskatchewan Valleys (Macdonald to The Electors of the City of Kingston, 10 June, 1861, in Ottawa, 1968:345-351). It relegated the Company's economic control to ownership of merchant stores in the North West overseen by territorial 'conservation' officers who were expected to preserve the peace and "protect the natives against the evils of openly competitive fur trading without the benefit of permanent colonization," (Mackay, 1949:274). Up to this point the process was relatively simple for Macdonald, a lawyer, and an "active businessman, primarily involved in land development and speculation" (University of Toronto, 2000). Rumours of impending doom of the Company's reign in Rupert's Land decreased Company morale and caused anxiety which weakened the will of Company officers to govern. By 1867, the 'burden' of government and "problems of peace among savages, of schools and missions" were no longer on their agenda (Mackay, 1949:285). While eastern elites engaged the central state to implement their specific worldview of society in the North West as an integral part of British North America, local Amerindian and settlement populations including ex-Company officials and employees had no local representation and/or state with which to express their views.

Lacking local authority and deprived of federal representation, local social groups were losing stake in North West economic and social development. No longer were Company officials 'absolute' lords and proprietors of the soil: when the final business of the Company was concluded in 1870, they "reassembled as a group of citizens to discuss how they might find some security in a way of life rendered unpredictable by forces and governments far away" (Mackay, 1949:285). Although the number of French and English-speaking Métis in the Red River and Saskatchewan Valleys had grown to thousands of members of an interconnected network of families and communities representing the majorities of colonial settlements across the plains in a few short years (Payment, 1990; Code, 2008), their political power and influence as independent producers was ineffective. Local groups could address territorial council with their concerns over these actions, but they had no representative voice or parliamentary platform from which to articulate their grievances, acquire permanent land title, and/or implement their social, political, and cultural views and visions.⁸⁴

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter represents the historical background and context of my research. It provided a brief overview of the significance of the Company to British commerce, empire, and the resulting bourgeois

order in the North West between 1670 and 1867. This chapter described the mercantilist economy and military-bureaucratic (colonial) state that arose in this period to oversee the fur trade, as well as the quasi-feudal society controlled by a faction of merchant capitalists. It has attempted to describe the socio-economic and political structures in the North West implemented to extract resources which also enabled the rise of the industrial bourgeoisie. It further described the role of the military-bureaucratic state and government in controlling the economy through coercion of the producing classes and the use of alcohol in integrating labour and trade. The moral governance of local Amerindian peoples to encourage temperance in response to the outcry of the upper classes in Canada and Britain over this practice was also described. These brief summaries have shown how the Company's quasi-feudal proprietorship and decentralized socio-political and cultural structures reproduced the interests of the land-owning, partnering, and mercantilist classes during this period. However, industrial factions allied to orchestrate the Company's demise and take control of the economy in the North West to further their industrial, commercial – and imperial – interests on the continent, using the very structure on which the trading monopoly was built.

This chapter introduced the goals of eastern capitalists in forming an historic block to displace merchant capital and transform the fur trade with industrialization through the colonization of emigrants and indigenous peoples as the agricultural productive force. Industrial factions in the Province of Canada needed the support of British Parliament to carry out their plan; their successful lobbies to the Crown were also presented in this chapter. While their proposal for a new economy, state, and society was based largely on ideas between 1852 and 1867, social transformations took place in Rupert's Land and the North West between 1867 and 1885 based on a capitalist worldview. The worldview of the bourgeoisie as seen in the ideological discourses of leaders of government in Canada will be presented in the next chapter, the impact and implications of which in terms of how their ideas translate into practice in Rupert's Land and the North West will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Five

Worldview of the Bourgeoisie:

Transforming a Capitalist Economy, State, and Society in the North West, 1867 to 1885

5.0 Introduction

The goal of industrial factions in British North America was to establish capitalist productive relations in the North West as discussed in the previous chapters. This was to be achieved through the annexation of Rupert's Land and revocation of the Company's exclusive trade license in the territories as proposed to the Imperial parliament. Once the merchants were no longer in control of the economy, production could be industrialized under the dominion of the Canadian state. As the literature suggests, changes in the economy would be reflected in the overarching superstructure that would legitimize and reproduce the new order and ensure the hegemony of a capitalist worldview. As the literature also suggests, ideology has a material basis. This chapter presents the findings of my case study of the writings of John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake who I conceptualized as representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie within the eastern polity that backed the first government of the new Canadian state in 1867 (Smith, 2006). This chapter answers the central question of this thesis by explaining the nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned in the North West. This chapter also explains the significance of the *Law of Nations* to their worldview. The importance of this treatise is that its principles were widely recognized in matters concerning international commerce between the sovereigns of Germany, France, and England. It is a conduit of ideas representative of the ruling class aimed at economic domination during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I suggest that its ideological philosophy and principles guided the actions of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake, who in turn used them to exploit the producing classes. With representatives of the industrial bourgeoisie at the helm of the new *sovereign* state, 'Canada' would enter the world economic system on its own terms while strengthening the Empire and the core states of the United Kingdom through economic expansion and development that would also increase the power and wealth of the bourgeoisie.

I argue that bourgeois intellectuals including Wakefield and Chitty reinterpreted and adapted the legal treatises of Christian Wolff (1740-1749) written in German, and that of Emmerich de Vattel (1758) written in French, to English standards in order to guide and strengthen the commerce of the British Empire. I suggest that their subjective interpretations and commentaries underscore the ideas, attitude, values, and beliefs about capitalism held by the leaders of government and official opposition in Canada, as also seen in their political writings. Furthermore, I suggest that these leaders were selective in which principles to follow and which to ignore in terms of the rational-legal possession of Rupert's Land and the North West. Various themes concerning the type of economy, state, and society that they envisioned for these territories are prevalent in the data which I conceptualize as discourse following the method elaborated by Macdonell (1986). This chapter provides a brief but detailed outline of the principles of the *Law of Nations* concerning perfection of a commercial economy, state, and society in separate sections

previous to my explanation of these discourses on the type of economy, state, and society that was envisioned in the North West.

5.1 The Relevance of the *Law of Nations* to Social Transformation of Rupert's Land and the North West

As discussed in Chapter Four, the principal objectives of the industrial factions in North America was to annex the territories and unite existing British colonies through Confederation and the construction of a continental commercial infrastructure that included an interconnected rail and waterway system to connect England and her colonies to China, India, and the South Pacific. As a sovereign state and nation, Canada's national economy would come under the dominion of the central government, whose leaders would bring Rupert's Land and the North West into the union before it could be annexed by the United States. Unlike the provinces however, Rupert's Land and the North West would become the 'Crown' property of the state to be controlled, divided up, and organized as part of a colonial resource system that was dominated by England during this period. It is important to acknowledge *The Law of Nations* as a conduit of bourgeois philosophy in the spread of capitalism around the world in this regard. My observations show that Canada was established and 'controlled' by the principles of the *Law of Nations* (Mackenzie, April 16, 1879: 1262). It was also found that the principles of this treatise were followed by all government and opposition leaders in office between 1867 and 1885 in the development of Rupert's Land and the North West (see Macdonald 1867: 14; Mackenzie, April 16, 1879: 1262; and Blake, May 21, 1885: 2030-5). The most compelling observation is the use of these principles in the appropriation of the territories by Canada as a 'right' that was 'just and proper'. Specifically, this treatise asserts the right of any Christian state to occupy land under the jurisdiction of terra nullius⁸⁵, a concept derived from Roman law where no previous state or sovereignty is said to exist, until it is 'perfected' by cultivation. It is also within the rights of states who abide by these principles to occupy the land and put it to use. In this case, as soon as Radisson and des Groseilliers 'discovered' the 'unclaimed' North West for England, the Company and then Canada had a right under international law to claim it, occupy it, use it, and/or integrate or 'civilize' indigenous populations as productive citizens of the new state and society.

5.1.1 Main Principles of the *Law of Nations*

The original work by Christian Wolff is a definitive philosophical text that informs the development of a universal republic of nations engaged in commerce circa 1750, or what Travers (1884) conceptualizes as the 'National-State System of Christendom'. The elaboration by Emmerich de Vattel as adapted by Chitty (1758; in Chitty, 1867) is foremost an illustration of an international system based on

British common law for the purpose of regulating intercourse between sovereigns engaged in commercial ‘society’⁸⁶. This treatise stipulates that while all sovereign and independent nations are subject to its laws, only sovereign and independent state members of the interstate system can benefit from its principles. These principles outline the rights, duties, and obligations of the nation as a member of the world economic system through organization of a state - a political society or polity - to oversee perfection of the national economy. This is a process that includes the development of a specialized labour force to cultivate natural resources as commodities for exchange in the global marketplace. The main purpose of the treatise is to articulate the means of inducing individual producers to cooperate with the creation of a global economy based on commodity production through specialized labour. The nation – a society of ‘free and independent’ individuals united together for the purpose of promoting commerce, mutual safety, and advantage⁸⁷ - is considered sovereign, autonomous, or ‘perfect’ once it is able to procure 1) its own necessities, conveniences, and accommodation of life or whatever constitutes its ‘happiness’ (property); 2) the peaceful possession of property; 3) a method of obtaining justice with security; and 4) a mutual defense against external violence (see de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:50-54; 69).

As Chitty (1867) notes, de Vattel’s treatise was written as a guide to the actions of Christian sovereigns and statesmen engaged in international commerce and trade. Its moral principles, ethics, and rules of commercial conduct were designed for their study as leaders who ‘love mankind and respect justice’. It was meant to give intelligent men in power of the Nation-States of Christendom a proper ‘solution’ to questions that arose in particular cases, and to furnish them with weapons for “defending the cause of right” while compelling the ‘unjust’ to keep within the bounds of decency⁸⁸ (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:623; see also Twiss, 1884). As de Vattel argues, this treatise was also to be read by ‘all gentlemen of *liberal* education and youth of all classes *above the inferior ranks* of society.’ It was believed that there was a common understanding and bond among men of identical religion and similar ideas, educated in the same system of Public Law and custom (Twiss, 1884: 466). Whereas the ‘unwritten customs of Christendom were founded in the Roman Empire and law’, no common moral code existed between it and the nations of Islam, Buddhism, and/or Indigenous (Pagan) Spirituality (see Twiss, 1884: 466-7). Nor was there a means of enforcing a contract or Treaty based on a code of ethics other than by commercial sanction and/or force.

I suggest that interpretations of the text were also highly subjective in the context of the state’s dealings with indigenous peoples of the North West. Further, that bourgeois intellectuals like Chitty, Wakefield, and Twiss provided reinterpretations of the *Law of Nations* to suit bourgeois purposes in this regard. Furthermore, I suggest that the eastern polity used these interpretations to transform existing economic, political, and social structures in Rupert’s Land toward Canada’s independence as an

autonomous state. Specifically, they followed earlier reinterpretations that redefined the criteria of independence to suggest that it is the autonomy of the State that establishes independence, not the circumstances of being ruled by a Sovereign (Twiss, 1884: xv). Thereafter they opposed traditional laws that gave only Sovereigns or their Chartered associations the right to found settlements out of Europe, which would thereafter “be entitled to claim international recognition, when they are sufficiently matured to maintain the character and discharge the duties of independent states” (Twiss, 1884: xvi). It was the position of bourgeois intellectuals that “the rights of dominion in the sense of “dominium eminens,” as distinct from the rights of property, are capable of being acquired by private associations ... not indeed by an (sic) European Congress, but after the example of the United States of America itself by a *Catena*, so to say, of separate treaties with the leading states of the civilized world” (Twiss, 1884: xvi). While it was the goal of Sovereigns to ‘bridge the religious abyss’ that separated ‘Oriental and Mahommedon nations through legal capitulations in the context of trade between the Ottoman and Roman (Byzantine) Empires’ (Twiss, 1884: 466-7), industrial factions in Canada (and the United States) initially engaged the *Law of Nations* as a tool of cultural amalgamation and when this failed, as an ideological weapon of domination and control.

5.1.1.2 Creation of a Universal Commercial Economy and Society

Perfection of autonomous economic structures toward membership in the world economic system is observed as the end goal of the principles articulated in the *Law of Nations*, where the Roman Empire was the model for England and its colonies including Canada to follow. The *Law of Nations* dictates cultivation and agriculture as a ‘natural obligation’ of human societies in that it provides the foundations of both subsistence and commerce in home and foreign trade. It starts from the premise that the earth belongs to ‘mankind’ and was created to furnish us with our means of subsistence, which we must cultivate in order to survive. It provides specific principles concerning fundamental, political, and civil rights and laws with a view toward state and public welfare based on production and the development of skilled labour. It advocates work and places restrictions on emigration of unskilled labour and the mobility of skilled labour as the means of procuring a speciality or division of labour to retain necessities and amenities or ‘commodities’ within the state. However, its several iterations⁸⁹ contend that if a sovereign and independent nation needs food, fuel, or other commodities, members of the universal society are obligated to labour to provide it - at a price or value as fixed by a world market system. Because agriculture was seen as the source of national subsistence and the ‘surest’ resource or commodity in commercial exchange, de Vattel was very clear in his instructions that cultivation receive the ‘utmost’ attention of government (in Chitty, 1867:34).

A condition of the law of *nature* is said to apply in the context of discovery and development in the New World. This treatise suggests that if a nation is not cultivating the land and using it for itself, the society must facilitate another state's access to these resources. A nation may take lawful possession of parts of a country that are not being 'used' by the people. No nation has the right to appropriate more land than they have 'occasion for'. If the wandering tribes of 'savages' of the New World have appropriated more land than they need or can make use of, another nation may take lawful possession of it and settle it with colonies in order to use it beyond hunting, fishing, and the cultivation of wild fruits (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:100). According to this treatise, a state does not deviate from the laws of nature in confining the 'Indians' of the New World within narrow limits or 'reserves'. However, as Chitty notes (in de Vattel, 1867: 100) 'one cannot help but praise the New England colonists and Quakers who purchased the land for which they intended to take possession under power of a Charter from their Sovereign'. Furthermore, if indigenous peoples will not submit to purchase or voluntarily possession, land can be taken by force through conquest. The people have no right to resist in this context, and no other nation can interfere. Once a society has passed under the dominion of another state, the people can no longer avail themselves to these international laws, but are subject to those of the victor, the Empire, where England is the model to be followed⁹⁰ (de Vattel, in Chitty: 1867:46).

5.1.1.3 Perfection of a Sovereign Commercial State

Perfection of political society is outlined as a duty in the *Law of Nations*. A state must be sovereign, strong, and able to govern independently of foreign power and by its own public authority and laws. Every political society must therefore establish a form of authority to organize and regulate its affairs including methods of coercing commercial production toward the end goal of a world economic system. If the nation is silent, it is seen as being in agreement with those in control of their affairs. As de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867:73) instructs, a nation ought to 'know itself' to make sure it selects a form of government and methods of regulation appropriate to its character. According to this treatise, every nation must select its officials from among the 'superior' members of a political society - in this case the eastern polity represented by Macdonald until 1872 - to lead in the accumulation and distribution of wealth and the exercise of authority and moral regulation. Government must be seen as representative of the national (public) will in this regard, in terms of enforcing ethics and rules of conduct surrounding cultivation as the means of subsistence for the nation, respect for private property, and accumulation of wealth in the state.

A good government has three main objectives to this end: to provide the necessities of life; to provide a means of acquiring happiness (property); and to provide a system of defense of property against

internal disorder and external force and violence. The main objective of central government in supplying the necessities of life is the procurement of commodities that are needed but cannot be supplied in the home market. A duty is conferred on officials to procure a 'happy plenty' of these commodities *in the state* as the principle means of wealth through commercial exchange within and between nations, where it can be 'watched over and protected to the utmost of state power' (de Vattel, see Chitty, 1867:47). While state executives have the freedom to choose how to meet these objectives, it is important to note that the definition of happiness equates with individual labour as the *means* of cultivation, extraction, and production of commodities. Commercial development of public and private property toward the production of commodities is the basis of state wealth and a further objective of government. It is a duty of government to acquire, dispose of, and restrict production of goods in order to prevent foreign-made manufactures from being consumed by the people instead of those made at home⁹¹. However, the development of new technologies, markets, and foreign trade (in commodities) is recognized as the means of increasing the wealth of the state and Empire.

A further role of government is to induce cooperation among both classes in producing and procuring wants, providing mutual assistance to other nations, and preserving economic freedom with state force when necessary. Foremost among the duties of government is the provision of a means of procuring obedience among its citizenry⁹². Regardless of the form it takes, government must organize and direct the nation toward perfection in the art of cultivation in a global context by promoting self-reliance, order, and restraint as a 'right, duty, and obligation' in this regard. According to this treatise, leading members of political society in the state, government, and civil spheres must form a link between the nation and their monarch to induce obedience to the Crown, to stabilize Imperial power, and to ease the burden of Imperial government with enforcing self-constraint (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 7). While all citizens must contribute to the construction and maintenance of public property, works, and goods, the state has a right to enforce taxation when the income from public property is insufficient for the public wants. Government has a duty to impose a system of taxation to support the ordinary expenses of the state and collect it by lawful authority based on individual advantages garnered from society and ability to pay. Taxation is seen as especially important to the creation of a standing army when there is a deficiency in state revenue (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 295).

5.1.1.4 Establishment of Legislative and Juridical Branches for the Preservation of Law, Order, and Justice

Next to care of religion, the principle object of government is to make justice prevail in the state and to take proper measures to dispense it with certainty and speed in the least burdensome manner. According to this treatise, peaceful enjoyment of property is a natural right that engenders happiness,

repose, and prosperity which requires a strict means of justice to enforce. Every state must establish a system of wise and just laws and the means of executing and enforcing them. It is a duty of government to oversee this system along with the superiors and courts required to administer legal order. To make justice flourish, every state must establish a constitution as the fundamental law in determining how public authority is to be executed in terms of how and by whom the people are to be governed, the rights and duties of the governors, the social order in which the nation proposes to labour together to achieve the common goals of political society in terms of mutual advantages and defense. State executives are obligated to establish political, criminal, and civil laws in addition to the constitution in which the nation will labour in common with a view to achieving these goals. Laws must be made in relation to the manner of governance as the means of procuring obedience in this regard.

Wakefield (1849:72) theorized that “if the classes alone who wield political power according to law cannot always serve the people by legislation, they can at least show that they would if they could: and the oftener they do this, the more, we may rely on it, the common people will take the will for the deed.” Macdonald believed that legal institutions⁹³ represented the ‘power of Great Britain’ and would protect the territory from the danger of collision with the United States along the border and frontier (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 2225-6). Specifically, that law would resonate with Americans [who] would readily give their support to British institutions, but “finding none, would form institutions of their own and hold themselves free from loyalty and allegiance to England” (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 225). If this was allowed to happen, their ‘sucking republics’ would make it impossible for Canada to remain in connection with the British Empire (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 225). Macdonald had “no doubt that when England acquired the Great North West by treaty, by discovery, or by both, the law of England, excepting the local municipal law, became the paramount law of that country” (Macdonald, March 24, 1879: 678).

As de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867: 77) asserts, “the best laws are useless if they are not observed.” Every state must demand that its citizens subject to its authority in everything that relates to their common welfare through production including the prevention of confusion, disorder, and despondency. It is the duty of government to induce consent to the surrender of natural liberty and independence in exchange for protection of the law. State executives must establish an internal police force to “preserve every thing (sic) in order” (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 83). The presence of a wise police force accustoms people to order and obedience and the preservation of peace, and tranquility, and concord among the citizens (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 83). Just as the state has a right to punish delinquent behaviour, a new state has to have a system of rewards in place to encourage *good* behaviour, productivity, and citizenship and prevent revolution from the “unjustifiable advancement of incompetent men without merit” (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 80). The state must remain absolutely free and independent in its dispensation of justice unless it

voluntarily submits to another nation. However, the nation retains the right to sanction state executives for abuses of their executive, legislative, and judiciary powers not limited to the establishment of unjust laws, non-meritorious disbursement of rewards for obedience, and unmerciful methods of punishment for transgressors. In this context de Vattel (1867) thought it prudent that the Monarch keep a watchful eye over all officers of the state within the public force and the executive, legislative, and juridical branches.

The *Law of Nations* outlines another obligation of government in establishing a just system of laws to protect the order of the state against insult or violence. A political society that cannot fortify itself against offense or external attack and protect the state's property is 'very imperfect' and will not long subsist (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 86). Government has a duty to preserve the state, repulse aggression, and repel and humble its 'unjust' enemies. It must therefore strengthen the state by populating it with young and healthy citizens to increase its wealth and readiness for war in terms of public force and resources. While reproduction through the family and agricultural production was the focus of government as regards these means, military virtue and valour was to be the method of establishing a formidable state based on economic power maintained by law, order, and discipline.

5.1.1.5 Care of Religion and Justice

According to the *Law of Nations*, the state is responsible for regulating individual conduct with a view toward public (social) welfare. Religion is considered to be of extreme importance to the happiness, peace, and welfare of a society in this context. The goal of the nation must be enlightened piety where 'devotion to the Deity and endeavours to please him in everything we do' is the principal objective of the state in producing excellent - pious and productive - citizens. Enlightened piety based on common knowledge was seen to engender the firmest support for lawful authority among the people. According to this treatise, society is obligated to practice piety as a virtue - including state officials - who must exercise vigilant cultural leadership in the formation of pious citizens in deference to God.

While the state is bound to establish religion by law, it must be left up to the nation to decide what religion to follow and what public worship to properly establish. To prevent disorders caused by differences of religion and diversity of opinion and worship, the state must ensure the equitable practice of universal tolerance of all religions and religious creeds which contain no tenets considered dangerous to morality or to the state. Holland is cited as an example in the text where "Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Pietists, Socinians, Jews, all live there in peace, because they are equally protected," and where none were punished except for those that disturb "the tranquility of others" (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 59). While individual liberty of conscious is to be guaranteed in the interest of justice and equity, the state holds

authority over the affairs of religion and those who teach it so as to prevent abuses and customs contrary to the welfares of states and the order of justice.⁹⁴

While the state must be focussed on accruing property and protecting state wealth, luxury and greed should be regarded as avarice and ‘evils’ in the hands of ‘imperfect’ citizens. The treatise thus directs the state in bringing about national thrift, piety, and self-restraint through education and religion as a public safeguard against unhappiness caused by “earthly enjoyments, and in the possession of great riches” (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:47). de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867:47) makes it very clear that if a citizen is allowed to pursue his or her individual interest – including support for the formation of an alternative social formation - “the whole human race together will be immersed in the deepest wretchedness.” Every good citizen must therefore learn to see that “the strength of the state is really the advantage of all, and not of a single person,” as de Vattel states (in Chitty, 1867: 7).

The principle duty of the citizenry is to perfect itself through labour and to do everything in its power to perfect the state⁹⁵ through obedience and labour. All citizens must maintain themselves through work and subsistence, and become self-reliant in order to become better, happier individuals (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:71). According to this treatise, citizens must maintain the nation as a commercial society through work and self regulation toward improvement of the universal human condition. Citizens have a duty to become active members of society insofar as they contribute *all* of their individual power toward perfection of the economy. Since the role of the citizen is to perfect him or herself and the state so it can perfect the economy toward development of a world system, a citizen must avoid any thing that impedes the goal of sovereignty and/or hinder or retard the process. Failure to contribute to the development of a world system is to negatively impact the ability of the state to govern independently of foreign power through its own public authority and laws.

All citizens are considered naturally equal, independent, and free *in this context*, obligated to labour as members of the universal human race who unite to form a civil society for common defense and advantage. Citizens of a specific nation are obliged to fulfill certain conditions of labour in exchange for this protection and advantage, which cannot be denied as long as their obligations are met (see Chitty, 1867:70). This is the basis of the social compact between the individual and state, where citizens agree to act together with the object of procuring for the society whatever it needs in terms of necessities, conveniences, accommodations of life, common defense, and “in general, whatever constitutes happiness” (de Vattel, see Chitty, 1867:69). As long as the state exists, civil society is obliged to maintain it in pursuit of these goals (de Vattel, see Chitty, 1867:70). Above all, it is the responsibility of a ‘good’ government to oversee the citizenry and ensure that each member fulfills the duty to perfect and preserve him or

herself so as to perfect the state toward integration in the world system. Individual members of ‘civilized’ states are obligated to assist “persons, who, having grown up to manhood among the bears in the forest, enjoyed not the use of speech and reason, but were, like the brute beast, possessed only of sensitive faculties” (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: 56). This is to be accomplished through the provision of knowledge as a form of universal communication. While government is central to the production and dissemination of this knowledge, the state has a duty to make sure that knowledge is accepted, advocated, and applied.

5.2 Themes of the Discourse

The following themes were prevalent in the speeches, letters, debates, and correspondences of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake between 1867 and 1885 in terms of the nature and type of economy, state, and society they envisioned in the North West. Above all, it was believed that if Canada was to become a great and powerful nation under the flag of England by confederation of the British American Provinces, the resources of the North West would have to be brought under Canadian jurisdiction. This would be done cooperatively, beginning with an “Imperial and executive alliance in our legislative authority, which will harmonize with the British system” (Mackenzie, 1878:27).

5.2.1 A Capitalist Economy in Canada’s North West

The principles of the *Law of Nations* (and of nature) concerning perfection of a commercial economy were observed as a theme in the data. Discourses surrounding the establishment of a division of (specialized) labour, the circulation of commodities⁹⁶, capital, private property, and social classes were identified in the data and underline a worldview of capitalism held by Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake. State executives envisioned capitalism as the means of perfecting Canada’s economy organized around agricultural production in Rupert’s Land and the North West based on cultivation of the land, the extraction of natural resources, and manufacture of raw materials through individual labour. Macdonald believed that it was the responsibility of the state to possess, expand, and settle such a “magnificent and fertile a region” as the means to Empire (Macdonald, 1871: 14; 1882: 18; December 6, 1867: 200). If Rupert’s Land was to be completely transformed by agriculture, a central authority was necessary to direct social, political, and cultural development, through ‘honest, vigorous, and just’ policies in the interest and ‘true welfare of the people’, (Macdonald, 1877: 17; Mackenzie, 1874, Buckingham and Ross, 1892:356). Macdonald believed that central control of the lands settlement in the North West would prevent interference in constructing a communications system to the region. The management and sale of Crown Land for the purpose of settlement was seen as the means of repayment of the cost of purchasing the territory (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1318).

A capitalist economy based on settlement and agricultural production was seen as the ‘surest’ way to provide the necessities of life and a happy plenty of commodities in the state as the basis of commercial exchange. Macdonald viewed Canada as “blessed in every respect, with a fertile soil, a fine climate, and industrious people, with a manufacturing population consuming the products of the farmer” (Macdonald, May 30, 1881). Mackenzie viewed the North West as a property of ‘vast industrial wealth’ west of Lake Superior (December 5, 1867: 195). The potential of its unlimited resources of agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry, and manufacturing had been previously determined by the British parliamentary committee inquiry of 1857.⁹⁷ As such, Macdonald and Mackenzie saw commerce as progressing in two directions through possession of these territories; as Macdonald states “not all attempts of theorizers and philosophers (laughter) will set aside the actual state of facts, that Canada will become, like the Mother Country, great in manufacturing industries of all kinds and great in agricultural development for it possesses all that element that make a great nation” (May 30, 1881). Macdonald viewed manufacturing as the best method for marrying industrial and agrarian capital with labour under the regulation and control of the manufactories that would control supply and demand of raw materials coming from the North West (Macdonald, May 30, 1881).

Themes of *private property* and *capital* were prevalent in the data. As de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867) states, cultivation of the soil improves its value and increases the wealth of the nation. Governments must therefore ensure that public lands are as well cultivated as possible to prevent private acquisition for other purposes. The role of technology is significant to this end. According to Macdonald, “the farmer who buys is the capitalist, and in view of a change in the older Provinces of the products of farms, the larger those farms become in the hands of the capitalists, the better” (Macdonald, February 10, 1882: 15). Macdonald believed that it was the duty of government to encourage large-scale farming and cultivation, and to keep farmers and farm labour from going into the towns of the United States “where they encourage all kinds of mechanical pursuits” (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). Themes concerning the role of capital in the construction of the commercial infrastructure were also observed. Macdonald envisioned economic development in the North West as the means of recovery of the economies of both England and Canada (Macdonald; 1880: 14; 1881:5). Macdonald’s set of policies of 1879 (National Policy) was designed to create prosperous home market based on agriculture and manufacturing, full employment for workers, the protection of native industries, and a system of taxation and tariffs to produce a revenue surplus ‘not seen elsewhere’ (Macdonald, 1880:15; February 12, 1883: 25). The National Policy was above all an economic program designed to protect the emerging manufacturing industry in eastern Canada through high tariffs, and prevent dependence on imported goods from the United States. It was to be implemented ‘by every means’ consistent with Canada’s position as an integral portion of the British Empire (Macdonald, in

Pope, 1948:627 and 772-777). Mackenzie's free trade policy was designed to cultivate a larger market for North West produce and higher prices for grain farmers through reciprocity with the United States. It was established in order for Canada to be 'more competitive' in the world market; Mackenzie believed that under a system of protection, Canada would be outsold by countries with free trade, and that an absence of internal competition would create oppressive monopolies. Mackenzie proposed that restricted trade would cause Canadians to live in isolation without commercial intercourse, which he compared to building a Canada just for Canadians⁹⁸: "I say let's have a Canada for Canadians, the United States, South America, West Indies, as well as our share of the European and Australian trade" (Mackenzie, 1878: 24).

In addition to agriculture and manufacturing sectors, Macdonald advocated capital investment in the construction of transportation and communication systems which he viewed as necessary for agriculture, trade, and the retention of a specialized industrial workforce. He believed that commercial infrastructure should be built by an incorporated company "honestly and fairly, and straightforwardly" (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). He had several strategies including the establishment of a system of taxation to increase state revenue needed to tender public works and build telegraph communications and a transcontinental railway (Macdonald, February 12, 1883: 25; in Adam, 1891:594). He thought that government should induce capitalists to undertake this great work "with hope that they get a fair and full return for all their risk, all their expenditure, and for all their responsibility" (Macdonald, January 17, 1881).

Themes concerning a *division of labour* and the creation of skilled, specialized agricultural producers in the North West were also observed in the data. Agricultural development in the North West was seen as 'the remedy for universal depression, stalled manufacturing, wide-spread insolvency, mounting despair, and the exodus of hundreds of thousands of people from Britain and Canada to the United States' (Macdonald, 1881: 5-8). Wakefield (1849) was very specific in the type of labour to avoid in this regard. Governments were to eschew convict labour and other idle populations that core states were 'trying to get rid of'. Macdonald believed that farming would be embraced by idle but productive populations as a "pleasant independent life, bringing domestic happiness and all that the expression implies" (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). He was of the view that "there is no life in the world in my estimation more happy and enviable than a farmer's, under the circumstances in which he is placed in Canada" (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). However, Macdonald argued that "no nation has ever heretofore, or will ever hereafter, rise to any eminence in civilization the arts and sciences, or prosperity of any kind, unless it honours agriculture and encourages manufacture ... the two must go hand in hand (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). The emigration of idle but industrious agrarian populations limited by circumstances other than ability, including cost, was proposed for the North West. Mackenzie aimed to

settle the North West with a large industrious agrarian population who were “willing and able, and willing to work for their country” (Mackenzie, May 10, 1879: 1900). The state would select agriculturalists of every class for this purpose and provide them with assisted passage to Canada, (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207-8).

In addition to the bourgeoisie and small-holding farmer, a class of idle but skilled labour was targeted for immigration to the North West. Mackenzie thought it would also be prudent to settle skilled labourers in the trades and as educators; he saw British emigrants as being useful in ‘civilized’ countries in terms of their experience with mechanical pursuits in the cities and towns, the cultivation of fields, and the clearing of forests (Mackenzie, 1878: 8). In addition to the extraction and development of resources, skilled farmers and tradesmen would also assist in the development of a specialized agricultural and industrial workforce. Agriculture was seen as a way to settle and subdue indigenous peoples as British subjects. It was felt that integration to subsistence farming was the ‘only way’ to ‘save the plains Indian from himself’ (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1942). Macdonald was of the view that “perhaps if Columbus had not discovered this continent – had left them alone – [the Aboriginal peoples] would have worked out a tolerable civilisation of their own” (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991). Under their current circumstances, indigenous peoples on the plains needed to gain skills in agriculture and industry. While influential Plains Cree Chiefs including Mistawasis and Ahtahkakoop agreed to ‘take the hand of the Great White Queen Mother’ and enter into productive (farming and ranching) relations with ‘her people’ (Miller, 2009: 177), not all indigenous peoples in the North West agreed. No effort was to be spared in ‘inducing the whole of the Aboriginal population to betake of themselves to the agricultural pursuits of raising cattle and cultivating the soil on their land’ (Macdonald, 1880:16; 1882: 19). The removal of indigenous peoples from the frontier and their settlement and civilization on reserves was a priority in this regard. According to the state, there was always a danger of an outbreak or uprising when ‘British Indian bands’⁹⁹ were on the American side of the line (Macdonald, May 3, 1882: 1291; in Blake, May 21, 1885: 2033).

Colonization and the circulation of commodities were observed as interrelated themes in the data. As Wakefield (1849) argued, rapid cultivation of raw materials for manufacture in Britain would occur through coercing production of surplus consumables in exchange for manufactured goods. Mackenzie viewed agriculture as “the great industry of this country ... that brings out the products of our forests” (Mackenzie, April 13, 1883: 599). Agricultural development of the North West would supply the wants of the country and open up the nearest means of access between Great Britain and her dependent colonies in the Pacific through construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway as a colonization line (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). A transcontinental railway through the North West was twelve hundred miles nearer to the Orient than any other route across the continent (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207). Extraction of

North West resources would furnish the mother country with new objects of desire, new materials of manufacture, and new markets for the disposal of goods. In return, the colonies would be supplied with luxury items such as sugar and tobacco, which would further stimulate agricultural production in Britain and consumption in the Americas, as Wakefield (1849:94) had proposed to Imperial parliament in the decades previously. A system of protection was proposed to stimulate the home manufacture of agricultural products and ensure British interest in the North West against the “interdiction of the great American¹⁰⁰ capitalists, who form rings and corners of all kinds for the purpose of the disturbance of the trade of other people” (Blake, 1880:16).

Macdonald proposed that natural competition would bring down the price and prevent monopolies, oppression, and large fortunes from being made by American interests (Macdonald, January 30, 1885: 20). While Macdonald envisioned a system of domestic commerce to furnish the wants of farmers, Mackenzie and Blake sought out new foreign markets for the disposal of farm produce through a system of free trade as the means of expanding the Empire on a global context. Prospective markets for commodities and manufactured goods included China and the West Indies which were also periphery zones for raw materials as previously discussed, in addition to the United States (Blake, December 10, 1880: 16). Macdonald was of the view that while protection would not “keep the men chained to the soil,” free trade would “send them into the towns of the United States” (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). Furthermore, he was of the opinion that it was in the interest of the ‘independent’ farmer to have a market at his doorstep and not “to be forced to look to a foreign market altogether for the sources of their prosperity and for their purchases” (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). Nor were British emigrants to look to a foreign power or republic for their prosperity at any cost:

It seems to me expedient that some liberal system should be worked out and put in practice with regard to the colonies. The idea of the mother country and her colonies being one great Empire, seems more and more to be taking possession of the public mind, and colonists should be taught to look forward to the Empress-Queen as the fond honoris. The monarchical idea¹⁰¹ should be fostered in the colonies, accompanied by some gradation of classes. At present, with some few exceptions, Canadians are all on one democratic level, as in the neighboring Republic, and this fact, among others, is appealed to by the annexationists in Canada, as proving that our national sympathies are with the Americans or should be so (Macdonald, to Lord Knutsford, Riviere du Loup, 18 July 1889, in Pope, 1921:449-51).

Themes of *social class* were observed in the data in terms of “the very classes – the agricultural laborer and agriculturalists of every class – that were advertised for and were to obtain assisted passage” (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207). Macdonald was of the view that idle populations of Europe would prosper in the North West as long as they could be retrained as agricultural and industrial workers *by their employers*, the agrarian small-holding capitalist¹⁰². It was in the interest of the country to nurture a

relationship where “the manufacturers will have generated so much capital, while the workingmen, the skilled and unskilled labor that surround those varied industries, will have become so powerful, the capitalists will be linked together in associations, and workingmen will be bound together in trades unions, and they will fight the battle together” (Macdonald, May 30, 1881: 5). Both classes were needed in the North West; the small-holding farmers to grow food, extract resources, and fund infrastructure and the labourer to build it in addition to indigenous peoples being trained for this purpose. It was also believed that Canada needed to develop a rural and urban workforce in agriculture, manufactories, and trades. Macdonald made it clear that “not every man can be or likes to be a farmer, and the man who is unwillingly made one will always be a failure”¹⁰³ (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492).

Themes of a *world economic system* were observed in the data in terms of the supremacy of the British Empire through its colonial possessions including Rupert’s Land and the North West. Leaders of the eastern polity believed in a more reciprocal arrangement given the vast wealth of these territories which translated to political power on an international scale. It was thereafter suggested to be in the best interest of Great Britain to create an economic alliance with Canada, rather than continue as a dependency. As Mackenzie states:

I believe that the power of ancient Rome departed when they began to desert the extremities and when the blood receded to the centre and produced a gorging that ended in paralysis. And if Great Britain cuts off her extremities, treats her colonies with contumely, or treats them in such a way that they don't care to remain, then I believe that a great portion of Great Britain's glory will have departed. (*applause*) (Mackenzie, July 13, 1875).

Both leaders believed that English supremacy of the world system would last “till the end of time, because it means universal freedom, universal liberty, and emancipation from everything degrading” (Macdonald, 1865 in Samuels, 2002:31; Mackenzie, July 13, 1875). Canada was expected to do its “full share in everything that may be necessary to maintain the status quo” and keep England at the forefront of global commerce (Mackenzie, July 13, 1875). As Macdonald states:

England drove Napoleon from his throne after he forced the nations of Europe to close their ports against it with the aid of domestic commerce she had with her colonies, and when all these colonies become great nations, having one head, and being one people, with one interest, England will still be secure in its trade, commerce and wealth; its children blessed in her. Some speculative philosophers suggest that it is our fate and advantage that we walk alone as a separate nationality; I desire that the empire and its auxiliary kingdoms to be accepted as a substitute for independence in the future. All the different people who speak the English language will be formed into one great nation for the purpose of operating as a moral police, and of keeping peace in the world, and if necessary, enforcing it (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 25).

Whereas it was believed that an Imperial union was necessary for continental sovereignty and independence from the United States, dominion over the people and resources of Rupert's Land and the North West was believed to be the first step toward economic domination on a global scale, where as Mackenzie (1878: 27) states "... we will see the whole of the Colonies of the Empire which are girdling the earth, working together as a confederated body, setting at defiance the tyrants of the earth, and setting also at defiance the evil systems of commercial economy and commercial polity."

5.2.2 Central State Authority (Over the Economy) in the North West

The principles of the *Law of Nations* toward perfection of a commercial state were also observed as themes. Discourses surrounding the use of executive, legislative, juridical, and military branches of the central state to compel economic development in the North West were identified in the data. These themes underscore a worldview of capitalism based on the ideas disseminated by Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake. Capitalism is marked by a form of state that is organized around the development and defense of a specialized system of commodity production and exchange. While state executives hold the freedom to choose how to meet these objectives, it is important to note that for the bourgeoisie, the definition of happiness equates with private property through cultivation, extraction, and production of commodities for subsistence and for sale in the M-C-M circuit of exchange. It was found that all three leaders initially supported state control of agricultural production in the North West through the provision of law, order, justice, and a national police force. It was believed that centralized government was the best form of defense of commercial property and infrastructure against internal disorder and against external force and violence. Macdonald stressed the need for a central government to control the fertile valleys of the North West so that it could be inhabited by "millions of thriving and contented subjects of Her Majesty" (December 6, 1867: 200).

Macdonald was of the view that it was 'impossible' to hand over the new the country to be legislated by the present inhabitants under the leadership of Riel who wanted to "obtain possession of the whole country, for Rupert's Land to be made into one province and to have control of all the land within the boundary as with the other provinces" (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1309). While settlement 'had to be made with the Indians as their guardians', the land could not be handed over to them as "it was of the greatest importance to the Dominion to have possession of it, for the Pacific Railway must be built by means of the land through which it had to pass (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1309). He believed that it was "injudicious to have a large province of Manitoba which would have control over lands" and might "interfere with the general policy of the Government in opening up Communication to the Prairie, and obstruct emigration" (May 2, 1870: 1318). He believed that "all the vast Territory should be for the

purpose of settlement under one control of the Dominion Legislature” (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1318). Executive control of these lands would allow government to repay the loan for the purchase of Rupert’s Land instead of collecting taxation for this purpose from the people of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Macdonald, 1870: 1318). Rupert’s Land would therefore be divided into provinces with as restricted a boundary as possible.

While possession of Rupert’s Land and the North West was the first step toward economic domination of the territories, confederation of British North American provinces was necessary for the consolidation and protection of native industries including the newly acquired territories (Macdonald, 1969: 63).¹⁰⁴ It was the goal of leaders of the eastern polity to work together toward confederation of the colonies by “surrendering our own religious and political prejudices for the sake of the union” (Macdonald, in Adam, 1891:598). An efficient form of central government was to be comprised of “men who are best adapted to put the new machinery in motion” (see Macdonald to The Electors of the City of Kingston, 10 June, 1861, in Ottawa, 1968:345-351; Mackenzie on Confederation in Buckingham and Ross, 1969:219). It was the goal of the eastern polity to “form a government upon federal principles which would give the General Government the strength of a legislative union under one administration but preserve the liberty of action for different sections and guarantees for local institutions and for local laws, which are insisted upon by so many in the provinces now” (Macdonald, 1865, in Samuels, 2002: 31).

As leader of the eastern polity and first executive officer of the state, Macdonald also envisioned an Imperial federation of the colonies where Canada would assume state sovereignty and an economic arrangement with the Empire based less on dependence and more on alliance as previously discussed (Macdonald, to Reverend C.H. Machin, Port Arthur, 4 April 1890, in Pope, 1921:468). Canada was to become a great power of its own while remaining allied with England; “an auxiliary power of Great Britain, strengthening the hands of the Mother Country as a great people of the Dominion, and a still greater people in being a portion of the British Empire” (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 11). Among the priorities of his government was consolidation of the vast territories of the Dominion, construction of public works, commercial development in the North West, and establishment of a means of protecting private property (Macdonald, 1872: 17). Resource extraction and settlement of these territories was to be the economic foundation on which the proposed alliance between Canada and England was based, and where the ‘great objects’ of preferential trade and common defence would safeguard their arrangement (Macdonald, to Reverend C.H. Machin, Port Arthur, 4 April 1890, in Pope, 1921:468).

As further priority was to “appeal to the patriotism and common sense of the people of Canada to carry out an arrangement which will give us all we want, which will satisfy all the loyal legitimate

aspirations which will give us a great, an united, a rich, an improving, a developing Canada, instead of making us tributary to American laws” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). Macdonald viewed the United States as an economic threat rather than an ally and advocated a strong, centralized state to nurture and ‘protect’ the North West economy from becoming its slaughter market for agricultural implements and supplies. A strong political union with Great Britain was proposed to avoid this, and to prevent the loss of revenue and of property caused by annexation of the North West to the United States and/or a civil war to reclaim it (Macdonald, Last Address to the People of Canada, in Pope, 1948:627; 772-777). This union would take the form of a constitutional monarchy, established to oversee industrialization of the new territories through agricultural production and development of natural resources as public property (Macdonald, 1871: 14; 1882: 18; December 6, 1867: 200).

The present and future prosperity of British North America relied on a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain based on “on principles *just* to the several provinces” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715 Appendix XIV). A central parliamentary form of government was proposed to “secure efficiency, harmony, and permanency in the working of the Union” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV). A federal alliance was politicized as a ‘strengthening force of unity’ between Canada and the Monarchy and in the best interests of a British Empire that would have unlimited access to vast amounts of land, people, and their resources. It would thus be the responsibility of a central government to bring the land, people, and resources of the North West under executive and legislative control (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 100). According to Wakefield (1849:211), this kind of government intervention was “more and more constantly needed in the multifarious business of constructing society than in that of preserving it.” Such governmentality was necessary to possess, expand, settle, and govern the ‘magnificent and fertile’ North-West for habitation of ‘millions of thriving and contented subjects of Her Majesty besides the emigrants of Germany, Norway, and Sweden (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 200; 1871: 14; 1882: 18). It was therefore proposed that central state executives should “spread government into even the remotest corners for settlement purposes, by means of instituting a system of municipalities subordinate to their own” (Wakefield, 1949:316). As Macdonald (January 30, 1885: 22) states, “it became the objective of successive governments – “the Liberals as loyal a party and as true to British interests as were the Conservatives” to maintain the right to legislate for these territories and govern over them.¹⁰⁵ As Mackenzie states, parliament was in a position to “sweep away all the abuses of the old land, to strike out a new line for ourselves, and to bring Canada and all it can influence into harmony with the Empire” (Mackenzie, 1878: 10). He proposed a system of municipal government for the territories but agreed to give “cordial support to anything that will extend our liberty of action and make us entirely equal in all respects to other legislatures and the Ministers of the mother country itself”

(Mackenzie, 1877, Buckingham and Ross, 1892:373). However, Macdonald believed it would be “idle to give the country the same government as Canada, but representative institutions should at once be introduced, in order that the people might have a voice in their government. He proposed that they should also have representation in the Parliament of the Dominion based on the principle of representation by population:

Look at the North-West. Twenty, twenty-five, or even fifty thousand Ontario people may go there this Summer (sic). When settled we have to divide the territory up into Townships and Counties. Have they to be laid out according to the political views of the population? If there happens to be a lot of Grits in one corner, must we consider that; and so with Conservatives? The only true principle, I repeat, is representation by population (Macdonald, January 17, 1881).

de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867; see also Wakefield, 1849) was explicit in his instructions that the form of government chosen by the nation must apply to its colonies and/or conquered entities in order to strengthen the union. However, while local government in the colonies should resemble that of the free institutions of the home country, the electoral franchise had to be limited to ensure *permanent* settlement¹⁰⁶ of ‘those with a deep interest’ in the future well being of the country. Only ‘morally-qualified’ property owners of the labouring classes could take part in the legislative process, and the only way to achieve the property qualification was through industry and steadiness (Wakefield, 1849). The idea of ‘free government by party’ system was adopted to attract “immigrants of the better class” who “possessed capacity for public business” and would govern ‘by turn’ with methods of their own for “making their own laws, imposing their own taxes, and appointing their own functionaries” (Wakefield, 1849:317). The colonists would raise revenue for their own establishments through direct taxation; they would be expected to pay for the privilege of having their own - albeit non-democratic - system of municipal government. Citizenship would restore pride, honour, ambition, and self-restraint and bring an end to the ‘embarrassment of discontent, complaint, disaffection, and rebellion’ seen elsewhere in the British Empire¹⁰⁷ (Wakefield, 1849:316-7).

However, economic structures had to be established in the North West before settlement could commence and any kind of local government was formed (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24). The North West was to be governed by central authority until such time as there were ‘sufficient populations’ to build the commercial infrastructure necessary to develop territorial resources (Mackenzie, May 10, 1879: 1897). Until it was, the people would be governed temporarily from Manitoba without a separate Legislature (Macdonald, February 22, 1876: 196). Economic development had to occur *slowly* in order to settle the dense populations required to sustain transportation and communications systems over time (Blake, January 18, 1884: 12). Macdonald further believed that it was crucial to the sovereignty of the

central state that settling populations recognize the superiority of British institutions and the monarchical principles upon which they were based (Macdonald, 10 June, 1861, in Ottawa, 1968: 345-351). Local government in the territories was to be established after the transfer and settlement of representative British populations including labouring and capitalist classes and the civilization of local Amerindian populations toward agricultural production, citizenship-voluntary taxation, and a prosperous market economy.

Macdonald also proposed *colonization* as the remedy for over-production brought on by protective systems that Mackenzie (1878: 13-17) argued would ruin the economy because products were manufactured faster than they could be consumed. Macdonald envisioned the North West as “so bountifully endowed by nature with all the requisites to support a great and happy population” as the solution to the problem of over production among the manufacturing sector. Colonization would open up “the magnificent North-West country and British Columbia to our own people and to settlers from the old land” (Macdonald, 1881: 10-1). He believed that “with common prudence, our manufactures will develop so steadily that if capitalists do not run blindly into over production there will be an increasing market in our West year by year which will prevent any danger of a glut” (Macdonald, 1881: 11). While colonization would ease the stress of unemployment in Britain, protection of manufacturers¹⁰⁸ from foreign goods would create competition “between man and man, capitalist and capitalist and “bring down the price” at home¹⁰⁹ (Macdonald, January 30, 1885: 20).

Systematic emigration was just a theory in the context of Canada when it was published in 1849. By his own admission, Wakefield did not believe his theory would work in the Province of Canada prior to 1867 because there was little arable land left, a consequence of ‘profuse grants made to private persons and *unsystematic* emigration of landless settlers from Britain’¹¹⁰ (Wakefield, 1849:523). Selling land at an increased price would only divert settlement southward after emigrants arrived and realized that arable land was better, free, or at least cheaper in the United States than what was left of the wastelands in Ontario¹¹¹ (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000). However, the transfer of Rupert’s Land to Canada in 1870 brought new possibilities when nearly four million square kilometres of land¹¹² and the responsibilities of development came under the control of central government. As Mackenzie (1877, in Samuels, 2002: 100) states “the only mode of accomplishing British domination through colonization of the continent is to throw a large population into our North-West territories, to open up a highway to these vast prairie regions which have a lot to do with the prosperity of the heart of the continent and the whole Dominion.”

Foremost to prosperity was the establishment of an entire British community. Following the ideas of Hinds¹¹³ (1832:112), Wakefield proposed that the biggest problem with the Imperial system of emigration was the selection and retention of settlers. In the old system, only the poor, lower classes of Britain were sent to the colonies and when they arrived, “they ceased to be Englishmen.” The North West was to be settled ‘at the earliest moment’ with a ‘thriving, industrious, prosperous, and contented agricultural population’ (Macdonald, 1880: 14; Blake, January 18, 1884: 10). While de Vattel instructed governments to ensure that the nation had adequate workers obligated to cultivating the soil, ‘useful’ populations were not to be allowed to emigrate from the core state. Therefore *idle* but productive classes of capital and labour Britain and Europe were targeted for settlement in the North West.

While Mackenzie proposed immediate forms of municipal government in the territories, Macdonald would only consider frontier municipalities as a possible mode of provisional government to be established “according to the wants of the country” and the means of preventing American annexation (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 223).¹¹⁴ Macdonald had specific ideas about the type of administration that should be best adapted after Confederation in Rupert’s Land and the North West¹¹⁵. Territorial governments would initially be “charged with control of local matters in their respective section” including construction of infrastructure from top to bottom and across the territories as the commercial hub linking Canada with Great Britain and its colonial network, the United States, and China¹¹⁶. It was unanimously agreed that economic development in the territories was a prerequisite to self-government. Macdonald (December 6, 1867: 224) was concerned that ‘in laying the basis for this great nation’ government must ‘embrace the opportunity in the North-West erstwhile all the power of England may not save it from the United States if we allow it to go out of our grasp.’ Further, a paucity of public authority in the outlying settlements far removed from the seat of government operated as an impediment to emigration of the ‘most valuable’ class of settlers. He believed that time was of the essence in this regard:

Americans are going in, singly first: the trapper, then the trader, and by-and-by the settler. The people of the United States are tearing up every line of demarkation (sic) between the North-West and the United States. They are going in and if they find no established institutions or organized Government, they will form an Association and commence a Government on their own” (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 223).

Just as political parties had set aside their differences for the benefit of the country, incoming and indigenous populations would have to learn to recognize the permanent union between Canada and England as the strength of the central state. Settlers and indigenous population had to unite in “defending British interest, in defending monarchical institutions, and in trying as far as possible to keep us a free and independent people of all external relation with any country in the world except our grand old Mother Country of England” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). It was believed that only with the support and

patriotism of the people could Canada be a great power, but not power separate from England: Canada was to be an “auxiliary power of Great Britain, strengthening the hands of the Mother Country as a great people of the Dominion, and a still greater people in being a portion of the British Empire” (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 11).

5.2.3 A State of Law, Order, and Justice in the North West

While the *Law of Nations* proposed a duty on government to establish laws for personal and public safety, the focus of the government in Canada was on legal possession of the territories for the purpose of commercial development entrenched in constitutional law¹¹⁷ (Macdonald, 1865 in Samuels, 2002:31). Legal possession would give the general parliament the constitutional power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government of the Confederation including the territories formerly known as Rupert’s Land and the North West¹¹⁸ (Macdonald, June 4, 1869: 612; in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV). The Government of Canada would give the territories a government and the parliament of Canada would legislate for its welfare and good government; however Canada had no means of ensuring justice. The establishment of courts for the protection of life, liberty and prosperity was a consequence of the transfer of Rupert’s Land in the context of preventing it from being taken over ‘by purpose’ (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 222-229; February 11, 1875: 69). It was decided that “the general interests of the Confederacy as a whole will be assigned to the Federal parliament” while “local interests and local laws of each section are preserved intact, and entrusted to the care of the local bodies” (Macdonald, 1865 in Samuels, 2002: 32; February 11, 1875: 69). Local enterprises in agricultural and industrial improvements would come under the legal jurisdiction of the provinces, however, as previously discussed, the North West would not get a legislature until specific socio-economic conditions had been met including emigration to “establish settlement that would form the nucleus of the new province altogether British” (Macdonald, 1865 in Samuels, 2002:32; February 22, 1876, p. 196; May 2, 1870: 1309).

Whereas the constitution of these territories was a matter for ‘future consideration’ and until such time as there were enough people ‘to be ruled’, discourses of law, order, and justice surrounding economic development in the North West and the protection of its resources were prevalent in the data prior to 1905 (see Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 222-229; February 11, 1876: 15). The establishment of a system of law and order was a priority of Liberal factions after the uprising in Red River in 1869-70 to restore order and faith in the ability of a central authority to govern the North West. As Mackenzie suggests: “The first thing to be done by any nation or country pretending to have any power or love of law, was to enforce its authority and then if any injustice or grievance should be found to exist, have the one removed and the other redressed (cheers)” (Mackenzie, May 11, 1870: 1563).

After the territories had come under the legal jurisdiction of the state, attention shifted from fundamental law to development of legal policies for the protection of private property. As Macdonald argues, “there are some great primary principles that lie at the basis of all Constitutional government, and one was the preservation of the rights of property” (May 30, 1881: 17). Furthermore, that “the state of civilization of countries was shown in the protection offered to property” (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757). The state must maintain the rights of property through law no matter “how humble and helpless a man be” in order to maintain the prosperity and reputation of the Dominion for the good of the country (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). Bankruptcy and insolvency laws would be implemented to prevent interruptions in the development of commercial intercourse between countries that were ‘greatly prejudiced in consequence of their absence’ (Macdonald, January 30, 1885: 21). Criminal laws would also be established as the means of frontier justice. Because the Fenian body was pursuing a ‘course of outrage’ in England and depositing arms at convenient points along the frontier, Macdonald believed that invasion was imminent and that it was the duty of government to arrest parties who might be seen as being engaged in any unlawful enterprise against the peace of the country (Macdonald, November 21, 1867:108).

While management of territorial property would fall under constitutional and legal directive, Mackenzie felt that central government had to set a desirable precedent for authority in the North West so as to provide felicity and “satisfaction to all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects” (May 7, 1870: 1415-6; see Macdonald, March 6, 1882: 228). The focus then shifted to a system of distributive justice. The municipal system of self-government would be introduced among indigenous bands ‘as soon as they were prepared for it’. Municipal governments were to replace the present system under the chiefs “who in many cases are hereditary, and therefore may or may not fairly represent the intelligence of the band” (Macdonald, May 4, 1885: 2111). While the municipal form of government was “not designed to affect the status or rank of the chiefs,” the hereditary chiefs would “lose their power” with its establishment (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). The elected councils would have “limited powers analogous to members of municipal councils (to discharge the duties discharged by the chiefs in the past) and as they prove themselves worthy and capable of carrying out the intention of this Act, Parliament will, by degrees, grant them more powers” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). Some aspects of tribal status would be regained with the franchise among ‘Indians who have habitations and have assumed the responsibilities of white men’¹¹⁹ (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). Municipal government thereafter became a “measure applicable to the whole Dominion for the purpose of encouraging the more advanced Indian communities to assume the responsibilities of self-government.” This measure¹²⁰ was intended to “give them the opportunity of adapting themselves to the white system as much as possible [and some] are every anxious

to stand on an equality with and have the same responsibilities and duties as the whites” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). The “Indian superintendents will decide whether or not the bands under their supervisions were sufficiently enlightened to inaugurate a simple form of municipal government with success” (Macdonald, May 4, 1885: 2111).

Macdonald believed that assimilation was the only way to prevent an ‘Indian’ war, and the prohibitive effect that uprising would have on immigration and settlement: “one thing is certain, that this would prevent or postpone for many years the immigration we hope shortly to draw into that country (Macdonald, February 10, 1882: 16; May 4, 1885: 2111). Criminal laws were proposed to stop any ‘indiscriminate’ introduction of arms and intoxicating liquors from the United States that ‘would be bought by the Indians with Treaty and scrip if we paid them in money instead of food given the nature of the population of the country’ (Macdonald, Macdonald; February 11, 1875: 68; March 17, 1879: 489). Steps would also be taken to protect “the Indian inhabitants from white aggression” (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 200). A mounted military police force was also proposed as a visible ‘symbol’ of state sovereignty. It was to exercise state authority and maintain the peace by preventing the spread of alcohol and/or destroying it to improve “the condition of the Indian tribes” (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 655). This force would also help to administer justice and prevent the possibility of bloodshed in that country from ‘vile’ whiskey traders or those “which might arise to suppress the insurrection of arms” (Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 657; Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 71). Above all, it was a priority that Canada be seen as being in a position to enforce law and order: “that there is nothing to be feared from the wandering tribes or aborigines, and that everything has been done to prepare for the introduction and settlement of the large population that may naturally be expected to arrive from Europe (Mackenzie, February 22, 1876: 198).

5.2.4 A (British and/or Christian) Capitalist Society in the North West

While a system of law, order, and justice was to be implemented as a means of increasing production through control of indigenous and emigrant populations, the principles of the *Law of Nations* toward the use of religion in the perfection of productive - and therefore happy - citizens were also observed as themes in the data. It was found that state executives envisioned North West society as being organized around the principles of self-reliance, obedience and restraint. Plans to use Christianity to induce settlement and coerce cultivation and improvement of the land by industrious emigrant and indigenous populations in the North West were identified in the data. Discourse of a ‘better social position’ for British and/or Christian emigrants were disseminated to appeal to experienced and productive labour from Britain and farmers from elsewhere in western Europe in the context of support for a mixed

economy that would bring higher prices in a home market for their produce (Macdonald, as Leader of the Opposition, 1876, Buckingham and Ross, 1892:421-24). These themes underscore a worldview of capitalism based on the ideas disseminated by Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake where capitalism is marked by a form of religion that is organized around enforcing ethics and rules of conduct to increase production. Whereas enlightened piety was to be a goal of the nation and the basis of happiness according to de Vattel, Christianity was to be the means of reproducing capitalist relations in the North West.

Recall that a principle obligation of a good government in a political society is to provide for the wants of the people. 'The people' in this case are observed to be the many citizens of England living in a small, overcrowded space with very little 'room'¹²¹. The North West was envisioned as 'blessed in every respect' with a fertile soil, a fine climate, and industrious people where one class of these citizens would cultivate the land and produce raw materials for the other to manufacture for consumption and exchange. Macdonald (May 30, 1881) believed that Canada could only become "like the Mother Country, great in manufacturing industries of all kinds and great in agricultural development" if it was possessed of a population representative of all classes of British society. The transfer of an industrious population of gentry, capital, farmers, and farm labour from Britain and Europe was seen as the source of British civility, culture, and productivity in the North West. In his treatise, de Vattel instructs all statesmen to provide colonists with the same advantages and protection in the colonies as in the home country. It was a duty of central government to establish British institutions as a source of these rights enjoyed elsewhere in English Canada and throughout the British Empire.

Emigrants would import British culture, institutions, laws, and the Christian ethics necessary for self-reliance in the North West. British-born farmers from the United States and older provinces would also be encouraged to settle in the North West¹²² (Macdonald, 1879: 14). Secondary waves of emigration would involve settlement of "Frenchmen from France¹²³, Germans from Germany, Swedes, Norwegians, and all peoples of all nationalities form the over-crowded population of Europe" as "loyal and devoted supporters of the British Crown and of British institutions" (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207). Advertisements for settlement¹²⁴ that promoted 'free' institutions were designed to help to bring over "thousands of immigrants ...who would speedily develop the abundant resources of the soil" (Mackenzie, December 5, 1867: 195). The emigration of British subjects would at the same time "thin out the over-peopled and populated districts of the British Isles" (February 25, 1880: 207). As Mackenzie further notes, emigration of the idle classes would remove any 'discontent' caused by poor economic conditions in Britain and restore "feelings of the fullest freedom and the means of employment so as restore their true loyalty to the British Crown" (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207).

Such loyalties included the defence and dissemination of British culture. According to de Vattel, citizens are obligated to perfect themselves by being able to procure their own subsistence *and* increase the ‘public’ wealth of the state. It is the duty of central government to teach people that happiness is found in individual perfection through cultivation as the means of attaining this goal. However, a powerful state is not sufficient for the nation’s happiness. As de Vattel instructs, whatever enables happiness among the people deserves the serious attention of government. This duty is fulfilled by conveying ‘useful’ knowledge to the people so as to induce a state of satisfaction and content. Government was obligated by the law to provide each individual with the means of subsistence and peaceful enjoyment of property, and to provide a method of obtaining justice with safety and certainty. While enlightened piety was advocated by de Vattel as a goal of commercial nations, obedience, hard work, and blind faith in God’s blessings of prosperity in the North West was expected (Mackenzie, 1877: 18; Macdonald, May 30, 1881; January 18, 1884: 23; 1886).

While it was a goal of the state to “get Catholics and Protestants, Frenchmen and Englishmen to work together for the country’s good,” observant Christians were obligated to proselytize and become active members of society in the spread Christian knowledge throughout the territories (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 10). The integration of emigrant and indigenous producers was considered integral in developing Christian ethics and capitalist beliefs among indigenous peoples including felicity and self-restraint in the enjoyment of private property. Macdonald believed that felicity and social justice for the Métis and indigenous groups would be brought about by ‘prosperity, safety, peace, liberty, happiness, and comfort’ through ‘intellectual, moral, and physical improvement in the North West; perfection of the individual to this end was only possible under the aegis of the British flag’ (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24). State executives believed that “it is quite true that to civilise (sic) an Indian you must commence with the child” (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1942). Macdonald envisioned a system by which “the children may be, as it were, withdrawn from the parents as much as possible, and brought under the influences of civilised (sic) *Indians*. But that cannot be done in a day” (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1942). Furthermore, Macdonald believed that “you cannot judge the wild nomad of the North-West by the standard of the Indian in Ontario” who were the model ‘British Indians’ for this purpose ¹²⁵ (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426). As Blake further suggests, “the ‘Indians of British Columbia were generally of a superior class to those from the interior part of the continent. They were intelligent, and made good farmers. Many of them were educated in the Roman Catholic religion, members of which church (sic) had taken great pains in civilising them. Those Indians make a good class of settlers” (May 3, 1880: 1942). As seen in Gavigan (2008: 118), religion was embraced by indigenous populations in the original colonies on the west coast and in eastern Canada, where indigenous peoples had internalized Christianity and

accepted “the God the white people pray to” because they believed that it led to wealth and prosperity. It was also generally believed among indigenous people on the plains that Christians were “always prosperous and got on well” according to her accounts of the testimonies of members of Man Who Took the Coat reserve circa 1885, on what is now Carry the Kettle First Nation¹²⁶.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter answered a central question of my thesis concerning the nature and type of economy, state, and society that was envisioned in the North West by industrial factions of the bourgeoisie of British North America. Through review of the themes found in the writings of John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Blake as their representatives within the Canadian state, it was found that the goal of the bourgeoisie in North America was to establish a capitalist economy and the corresponding social and political structures in the North West. This was to be achieved through the annexation of Rupert’s Land and revocation of the Company’s exclusive trade license in the North West in order to bring territorial resources under the dominion of the Canadian state in the interest of an industrialized national economy based on agriculture and manufacturing technologies. This chapter also explained the significance of the *Law of Nations* to their commercial pursuits as a sovereign state wanting to engage in international commerce. I argue that by following this treatise, Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake accepted, advocated, and aimed to apply certain principles in establishing a capitalist economy, state, and society in the North West. It was found that a capitalist economy organized around the production of agricultural commodities was envisioned in the North West, including natural resources, agricultural products, manufactures, and individual labour to provide the necessities of life and a happy plenty in the state as the basis of commercial exchange. These writings also show that a capitalist state was envisioned in the North West including the provision of a national police force and the legal and juridical systems as a show of sovereignty, and necessary for the defense of the commercial infrastructure against internal disorder and external force and violence. Further, that a capitalist society organized around the principles of Christianity was envisioned in the North West, where Christian ethics and the belief in providence would provide individual happiness and civility required for self-reliance, obedience, and restraint.

These ideas appear to be universal across party lines with the aim of establishing capitalist economic structures in the territories during the first years of parliament. However, it must be noted that there was no ‘official’ opposition in the House of Commons from July 1, 1867 to July 8, 1872. While antagonisms were noted in the debates (including Blake’s opposition to the Canadian Pacific Railway), Macdonald’s government ruled freely for five sessions representing almost five years of decision-making power concerning Rupert’s Land and the North West. While Mackenzie was an elected member of the

federal legislature he is observed to be in agreement with Macdonald for the most part in matters concerning economic, social, and political development in the territories. As Forster (1994) notes, he 'rarely spoke' during his last years in parliament after his government's 1878 defeat and was replaced as party leader by Blake, who never formed government or presented alternatives to the agenda of government in the official addresses in reply reviewed. Furthermore, Parliament was dominated by wealthy Scottish and Irish prime ministers of high social standing until 1896. While alternative ideas about the economy, state, and society were noted in terms of their politics, they would be of no consequence to the purpose of establishing a capitalist society in the North West and the overall economic and political structures of Canada. In keeping with Wallerstein (1972; 1989), I suggest that industrial representatives of British North America envisioned annexation of Rupert's Land as a bulwark against American expansion in the interest of Canadian sovereignty and British Empire. While possession of these territories was proposed to strengthen the Empire and the common wealth of its core states including Canada within the world system, industrialization and commercial development would also reproduce the power and interests of the bourgeoisie.

Chapter Six

The Relevance of Ideology to the Emergence of Capitalist Social Formations in the North West

6.0 Introduction

The literature suggests that a capitalist worldview has observable ideological underpinnings aimed at coercing individual behaviour toward capitalist production and consumption on a global scale. As the literature also suggests, the bourgeoisie engage specific ideological strategies to transform existing economies, states, and societies in order to establish, legitimize, and reproduce the economic, state, and socio-political structures of capitalism. This chapter answers the question of how a capitalist economy, state, and society materialized in the North West. First of all, it was observed that different factions of capital coalesced as bloc within the eastern polity which became the nucleus of the Canadian state in 1867. A review of the substantive literature reveals the modern state as an ideological form that is central to a worldview of capitalism. In this case, the executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the state were observed to be instrumental to the transformation of the local economy in the North West. Colonization of the North West with productive and self-reliant emigrant and indigenous peoples who contributed to the state's wealth was observed to be a matter of extreme importance to the bourgeoisie. Development of commercial infrastructure through settlement revenue and capital was equally important to their vision of capitalist society, as was the circulation of commodities produced by agricultural settlers for exchange. It was a further responsibility of the state and civil society to assimilate the people of the North West to this end. While the clergy would instil a belief in providence among the community and socialize cultivation and hard work as the key to happiness on earth, Christian ethics were engaged to induce civility, self-reliance, obedience, and restraint toward conformity to the transforming capitalist institutions. A system of laws was established to protect public happiness and the peaceful enjoyment of property including a means of distributive justice to coerce the cultural amalgamation of indigenous peoples in the North West.

Part I of this chapter explains how capitalist formations were established and the relevance of the executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the central state as ideological forms to the process. It explains their role in the transformation of the fur trade economy, state, and society in the North West through the establishment of a constitutional parliamentary form of government by party to oversee 1) the development of commercial infrastructure based on implementation of the freehold system of land tenure as a means of subsistence and surplus production; 2) a division of (specialized) labour based on agriculture and manufacturing; 3) ownership of the means of production as private property, 4) colonization of social classes of capital and labour to improve this property; and 5) construction of infrastructure to enable the circulation of commodities characterized by the M-C-M circuit identified by Marx (1867).

Part II of this chapter explains how capitalist formations were legitimized and the relevance of 1) the implementation of a system of law to coerce production, ensure circulation, and protect private property; 2) the implementation of a system of distributive justice to induce production, citizenship, and self-government; 3) the creation of a bureaucracy as a nexus of power to administrate production, property, and indigenous peoples; and 4) the collection of taxation and expenditure of public revenue in the development of commercial infrastructure. While Blake opposed the construction of the railway, according to my review of their political discourses, Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake played central roles in the establishment of socio-economic and political structures in the North West. While the collection of taxation and import duties as a source of state revenue had to be justified among prominent members of society including members of federal and provincial parliaments¹²⁷ as being necessary to the creation of a home market, the creation of a system of law and order had to be supported (through taxation). This was done by creating an ‘enemy’ of the state and social order whereby the means of eliminating this threat would be the responsibility of the state, and its juridical and military branches.¹²⁸.

Part III of this chapter explains how capitalist formations are reproduced in terms of the relevance of religion to the reproduction of the relations of production in the North West. While ideology has a coercive role in establishing and legitimizing the economy and state, society cannot be reproduced by coercion and force alone as (Gramsci, 1971). It was observed that members of the clergy and upper class colonists were dispersed among the territories to induce conformity to the new economy and state to develop a sense of community or ‘society’ among emigrant and indigenous populations. Foremost among their duties was to socialize the idea of private property (livestock, implements, outbuildings, and seed) and use of land as private property to cultivate and extract natural for subsistence and as capital in terms of buying their own farm machinery and equipment. However, they had to be compelled to produce surpluses for the state as the basis of commodities exchange. As they did under the mercantilist system, members of the clergy provided moral governance to influence good behaviours leading to productivity and sanction immorality leading to disorder. This section will also explain the relevance of law and order as ideological forms of coercion in maintaining peaceful commercial order with force. Economic development in the North West was thereafter controlled by the state and central government through a political system of government law, order, and justice in concert with Christianity as the guiding principles or hegemony of the new capitalist order.

PART I

6.1 The Relevance of Ideology in the Transformation of Rupert's Land and the North West

Part I of this chapter explains the relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist economy in the North West in terms of how the economic, political, and social structures of Rupert's Land were transformed by the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches of the central state. The principles of the *Law of Nations* (and of nature) as they relate to perfection of commercial economies such as that which existed in the North West were observed as themes in the data, however, I suggest that these principles were reinterpreted toward the establishment of what Marx (1959) observes as coercive ideological structures and institutions of capitalism. As Wallerstein (1974) argues, economic domination is more efficient than political domination as a system of exploitation that increases production and the flow of surpluses from the producing to ruling classes, periphery to center, and majority to minority of a political society, nation, or state. The following sections answer the question of how a capitalist social formation was established in the North West by explaining ideological forms of the state as mechanisms of transformation.

6.1.1 The Relevance of Law and Legislation to the Emergence of a Capitalist Economy in the North West

Expansion of the British empire through development of an overland passage to the South China Sea required two things: careful negotiation with British Columbia to bring the colony into Confederation as a "province of great natural resources" (Macdonald, 1883: 26), and the settlement of "a large population into our North-West territories in order to open up a highway to these vast prairie regions which [had] a lot to do with the prosperity of the heart of the continent and the whole Dominion" (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 100). As discussed in Chapter Five, leaders of the eastern polity had to get control of the land in order to build this passage through it. Legal transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada was the first step in establishing a capitalist economy in the North West. The North West purchase abolished the Company's tenure in territories and as Macdonald states, "never was there a better bargain made by any country than we got all the great North-West"¹²⁹ (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 12). Sovereignty in the North West was transferred to the government and Parliament of Canada so that it could legislate for its welfare and good government. The *British North America Act, 1867* gave Parliament the power to make laws for the 'peace, welfare, and good government of the Confederation (saving the sovereignty of England) on all matters of a general character not specially reserved for the Local Legislatures'. Such matters included the raising of revenue from taxation, the regulation of trade and commerce, agriculture, the appointment of an executive officer for each province, the management and

sale of public land, peace, land, and foreign Treaties, and “Indians and Land reserved for Indians”¹³⁰ (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV).

Before cultivation, settlement, and construction of an overland route to the Orient could begin, state executives in government had to extinguish Indigenous title: “If the Indians were to disappear from the continent, the Indian question would cease to exist. But we must remember that they are the original owners of the soil, of which they have been dispossessed by the covetousness or ambition of our ancestors” Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991). Extinguishing indigenous title in the fertile belt of the Saskatchewan Valley was a priority in opening it up for British settlement and immigration to aid railway development, and to “prevent the influx of squatters who will seize the most eligible positions and greatly disturb the symmetry of future surveys” (Macdonald, to Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Ottawa, 18 November, 1879, in Macdonald and Pope, 1921:141; December 10, 1880: 20-30). According to Wakefield (1849; see also Scott, 1998) colonies like Canada depended on legislation, which depended on information, which required a bureaucracy. Legislation in the North West was founded on information that was gathered, reviewed, and used by the state to inform its policies including those relating to Treaties and land entitlements in Ontario. These decisions would pave way for “the rapid progress and development of the Dominion in its multiform interests and multiplying resources” which were “of importance in a commercial and financial point of view” (Canada, 1874b:271). State executives relied heavily on information collected during the assimilation of ‘loyal’ indigenous peoples in Ontario which informed the appropriation and settlement of fertile lands west of Winnipeg (Macdonald, December 5, 1867: 196; Mackenzie, March 4, 1877: 1124). The main purpose of settlement of the territory was to bring it under legal jurisdiction of Canada as a way to restrain the United States and its interest in annexation (Macdonald, December 5, 1867: 196; Mackenzie, March 4, 1877: 1124). Recall from de Vattel that a nation has no right to land which it does not use, and must cede it to those who will use it.

To carry out their objectives in the North West, state executives engaged the legislature and judiciary branches established for the protection of life, liberty and prosperity¹³¹ in the territories to transform Rupert’s Land into ‘national’ property and bring it under state management and control (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 223; Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715, Appendix XIV). The *Constitution Act, 1867* gave central government the exclusive authority to legislate over land and ‘land reserved for Indians’ and make Treaty arrangements with “the Indian Tribes in the Western Saskatchewan country for the extinguishment of their title [to] thereby open another large tract of fertile territory for settlement and cultivation” (Macdonald, April 12, 1876: 1184). The extinguishment of their title was to be guided by *Mackenzie’s* national policy that was said to be “above all, humane, just and Christian” (Mackenzie, 1877: 18). It was the goal of his government to engage in *peaceful* Treaty negotiations with “Indian tribes who

place implicit faith in the honour and justice of the British Colony” in relinquishing their territories to the Dominion (Mackenzie, 1878: 20). However, as Tobias (1992) argues, Treaty negotiations in the North West were often initiated and largely influenced by indigenous peoples who turned back settlers, threatened violence against encroaching settlement parties, and negotiated improved treaty packages.

The *freehold system of land tenure* was implemented for this purpose to enable the construction of infrastructure needed to settle, cultivate, and improve the land with capital and specialized labour in order to prevent annexation by the United States. Treaty land entitlements began in 1857 in the province of Ontario with awards of fifty acres of land to any Indigenous male who would cut tribal ties and ‘cease to be Indian’ (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2107). While this entitlement enabled the provision of a sum of money equal to his or her share of the annuities and revenues of the band from improvements to the land as absolute property or capital, the land was not theirs to own¹³². Instead, these individual land grants comprised part of the reserve land for the use of the band. It was part of an inducement package of legislation called ‘*The Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes [in the Province of Canada] (1857)*¹³³. This Act of law was created to “encourage the progress of Civilisation among, the Indian Tribes in this Province, and the gradual *removal of all legal distinctions* between them and Her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects.” It was meant to “facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it, by such Individual Members of the said Tribes as shall be found to desire such encouragement and to have deserved it,” and was implemented “for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition and the property occupied or enjoyed by them, from trespass and injury.”

The Act stipulated ‘gradual or *voluntary* enfranchisement of any recognized male Indian over 21 and under 40 of good moral character and free from debt, who could speak, read or write in English or French, and was capable of managing his own affairs’. Those desiring to ‘avail themselves of the Act’¹³⁴ would thereafter be ‘duly inquired about’ by the “Visiting Superintendent of each Tribe of Indians, for the time being, the Missionary to such Tribe for the time being, and such other person as the Governor shall appoint from time to time for that purpose, [as] Commissioners for examining Indians.” Enfranchisement required the individual and his family to give up their Indian status and become British subjects (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 540-1). Individuals who had successfully completed three years of improvements or probationary enfranchisement would get their land patents for respective holdings and credit in the hands of Government, to be divided among the band at which point they ‘ceased to be Indians in every respect’ (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2107; see also Mackay, 1949:274). Enfranchisement required the male individual and his family to take an ‘approved’ surname, and become British subjects. He would be ‘given’¹³⁵ fifty acres of land in exchange. Macdonald further explains the Act and the intentions of the Act in this regard:

Any Indian who is sober and industrious can go to one of the agents appointed for this purpose, to see whether he is qualified for the franchise or not; if qualified he receives a ticket for land, and after three years he is entitled to receive a patent for it which will give him absolute control of the portion allotted to him for his own use during his lifetime and after that it will be controlled by whoever it is willed to ... after six years of good behavior they will receive their land and their share of the moneys in the hands of the Government, and will cease in every respect to be Indians. ... It is thought that this will encourage them to improve their land, and have a tendency to train them for a more civilized life ...” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 540-1).

As Johnston states, only 102 individuals became enfranchised between 1867 and 1920.

Métis peoples were to be given 160 acres from the 1.4 million lands settlement package in Manitoba so that they may eventually “stand free and independent, a freeholder, a yeoman, a free man in the North West” (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). As with the case of ‘Indian men and their families’ neither would be able to claim or occupy their deed for three years, considered an appropriate length of tutelage in cultivation and improvements (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). However, there were further considerations for Métis peoples in this regard. According to Macdonald (July 6, 1885: 3113), “the half-breeds must be considered either as white men or as Indians.” If they “chose to be considered as Indians” they would “go to the bands of their brothers to enjoy all the advantages of the treaties, to get their annuities, their supplies, and the presents that were given to them”¹³⁶ (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). As Macdonald saw it, there were many “advantages of being an Indian, and they are great, because the treaties are liberal, the annuities are large, the supply of implements, cattle, seeds, and so on, is very generous, on the whole (July 6, 1885: 3113). On the other hand, “others said: No; we are white men; we will be considered as white men; we will have the right of white men; and if so they had the same rights as other white men living outside the Province of Manitoba, who had settled before the 15th of July, 1870 (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). In this case, as Macdonald explains it, “The Hudson Bay Company, the old proprietors of the country, had guaranteed certain rights to parties; they had acknowledged certain claims acquired in certain settlements, not only along the banks of the Red River, but of the Assiniboia.” After ‘careful’ calculation, 1,400, 000 acres were legislated under the *Manitoba Act* as being “quite sufficient for the purpose of compensating these men for what was called the extinguishment of the Indian title”¹³⁷ (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). However, Macdonald believed that this “phrase was an incorrect one, because the half-breeds did not allow themselves to be Indians. If they are Indians, they go with the tribe; if they are half-breeds they are whites, and they stand in exactly the same relation the Hudson Bay company (sic) and Canada as if they were altogether white” (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113).

French and English-speaking Métis peoples on the Saskatchewan plains of the North West were given a ‘choice’: they could either “[go] with the father or mother as whitemen or Indians ... if they claim

as whitemen, they can get their homestead of 160 acres free on cultivation. If as Indians, they can join their mother's band and get their share of its reserve and of the annuities and presents secured to them by Treaty" (Macdonald, to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921: 317-9). Furthermore, that every one – "the half-breeds, whether English or French, [and] every white settler, every man in the North-West, whether he is a Hudson Bay Factor, or clerk, or runner – every one of them had [the same] rights under the Dominion Land Act" (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). As Mackenzie argues:

There is no royal road in Canada¹³⁸ or in any other colony to any position of eminence, either in University, political, or commercial success. Everything must be got by hard labour ... in the colonies, and I hope in England as well, there is a fair field and no favour, and every manly and independent mind will rejoice that there is that fair field and will ask nothing more¹³⁹ (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 88).

These rights were proposed to be universal concerning the *circulation of commodities* in two contexts: 1) where surpluses from the freeholds and reserve lands would be sold to increase the rapidly developing trade with the United States, England and her colonies, and Europe so as to open new markets for Canadian goods; and 2) where profits would be used to buy better equipment, seeds, and manufactures for consumption (Macdonald to GG Lord Lisgar, Rideau Hall, 28 December 1871, 1921:154-5; 1879: 21; January 30, 1885: 20-1; Mackenzie, 1875: 15; 1878: 20).

State executives drafted several pieces of legislation as the means to acquire title, parcel out reserves, and settle indigenous peoples including the *Indian Act, 1876* and corresponding Indian Register¹⁴⁰ administered by the Department of Indian Affairs (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 200). The *Indian Act, 1876* and the Indian Register established by the Act defined who was 'Indian' and the special rights and legal limitations concerning property and mobility that devolved from it, and consequently determined which bands qualified as 'British Indians' who would be let in to Canada from the United States¹⁴¹ (Blake, June 30, 1885: 2930). The *Dominion Lands Act, 1872*¹⁴², the *Half-breed Land Protection Act, 1873*, the *Infant Estates Act, 1879* and their various amendments, as well as the *Manitoba Act, 1870* brought 'large Aboriginal populations in the North West further under state authority' by extinguishing their title and access to the land not sanctioned as 'reserve land'.¹⁴³ This legislation also sanctioned their movement and 'habits of crossing back and forth into quasi foreign territory' where government would have 'no control over them'¹⁴⁴ (Macdonald, December 6, 1867: 226). The land policy of the government comprising the *Manitoba Act, 1870* towards the 'old' (Métis) settlers and others living in the Red River area of the territory 'for many years' was seen as the "more speedy means for acquiring a title for settlement purposes than the homestead provisions of the Dominion Land (sic) Act" (Macdonald, July 6, 1885). This legislation¹⁴⁵ was created to extinguish their title to land holdings issued by the

Company prior to Confederation, and any claims made to land along the Red River and Assiniboine ‘by the people, white or mixed acquired from the practice of squatting’¹⁴⁶ (Macdonald, July 6, 1885).

Several pieces of legislation were enacted to protect land reserved for ‘Indians and half-breeds’ from land sharks, speculators, and middlemen.¹⁴⁷ According to Sprague (1988), before Confederation and western expansion, land speculation in the North West was non-existent because the Company was the only land ‘owner’. By 1877 however, he argues that Justices of the Peace who were responsible for attesting to the validity of legal documents surrounding land claims were “leaders in fraud and speculation themselves” (Sprague: 1988:122-4). Legislation was a response to these practices and the ‘attorneys’ that “abound in the N.W. and urge on the half breed to demand, in addition, scrip to the same amount as granted to those in Manitoba. The scrip (sic) is sold for a song to the sharks and spent in whiskey, and this we desire above all things to avoid” (Macdonald, to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921: 317-9). Several amendments to earlier legislation were enacted to prevent reserve land in the North West from coming into the hands of private parties “for the purpose of extracting money from the Government at a future period”¹⁴⁸ (Mackenzie, March 4, 1877: 1124). The leader of the official opposition was in full agreement that land speculation would ‘retard and diminish’ the prosperity of the North-West and the state should have authority over such “a high and important matter” as controlling “enormous tracts of land in the North-West” (Blake, December 10, 1880: 12). However, he was firm in his arguments that Parliament, not the executive, should oversee its development (Blake, December 10, 1880: 12-14; Blake, February 12, 1883: 20).

6.1.2 The Relevance of Colonization and Emigration to the Emergence of a Capitalist Economy in the North West

As de Vattel instructs, the principal objective of the state is to induce cultivation of the land and resources as a means of accumulating state wealth. After the extinguishment of the land title and settlement of indigenous peoples on reserves, the next step of the eastern polity was to construct a *commercial infrastructure* across Canada to enable access, extraction, cultivation, and circulation or ‘use’ of resources of the land. A capitalist economy is observed to emerge in the North West as a result of coercive colonization and emigration policies designed for this purpose. Macdonald proposed joint action between industrial factions in Montreal and Toronto in the creation of a home market for agricultural produce and manufactures (Macdonald, January 30, 1885: 21; in Adam, 1891:595). He aimed to rouse The Family Compact and Chateau Clique into partnership in the building of a commercial infrastructure ‘like that of our neighbour,’ the United States (Macdonald, February 12, 1883: 25; in Adam, 1891:594). Government called for tenders from all over the world to compete to build the road and make “their own fortunes by running it and by the settlement of the land set apart for its construction” (Macdonald, January

17, 1881; Adam, 1891:597). However, while he and Mackenzie denounced American annexation of the North West, they were forging alliances with industrial capitalists from the United States to build a communications route to Hudson Bay (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207; Blake, December 14, 1880: 76). While Mackenzie advocated for all classes to make a 'reasonable' amount of profit under this scheme, he and Blake did not always agree with Macdonald on how the work was to be done¹⁴⁹ (Mackenzie, 1878: 20; Blake, December 10, 1880: 9-11). They did however agree on the merit of building a transcontinental trade route: "This great work, so important alike to the Empire and the Dominion, cannot fail to increase the trade between British Columbia and the other Provinces, to ensure the early development and settlement of Manitoba and the North-west, and greatly to add to the commercial prosperity of the whole country" (Macdonald, 1886:12; Mackenzie, 1878: 10; Blake, December 10, 1880: 9).

State executives also created economic policies aimed at *a division of specialized labour*. Macdonald envisioned a mixed economy where agriculture would have the greatest appeal to emigrants and manufacturing would be a source of employment for idle workers and a way to prevent skilled labourers from immigrating to the United States (Macdonald, May 15, 1867: 707). The promise of free or affordable, arable land would bring settlers to the west (Macdonald, 1867:707), whose agricultural industry would encourage mining and forestry production in the north (Mackenzie, 1883:599), the supply and demand of which would be regulated by manufacturers and industrial capitalists in the east (Macdonald, 1885:20). Agricultural interests would have "the same rights as the manufacturing interests and the same claim on this House" (Macdonald, March 7, 1876: 496). This was specific to matters concerning the 'flooding of Canada with American agricultural products, whilst our productions are literally excluded from crossing their borders' (Macdonald, March 7, 1876: 496). Macdonald was of the view that "it is in the interest of the agriculturalist to have a certain market at his own door" (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492).

Emigration of capital and labouring classes was targeted as an immediate source of revenue to build the North West passage; government was prepared to use 'all means of its power' to remove any impediments to success in this regard. As Macdonald (Letter to C.F. Brydges, 28 January 1870, Ottawa, in Pope, 1921:124) states:

It is quite evident to me, not only from this conversation, but from advices from Washington, that the United States Government are resolved to do all they can, short of war, to get possession of the western territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them. One of the first things to be done is to show unmistakably our resolve to build the Pacific Railway.

The first objective of the state was to compel capitalists to invest in the North West and construct the rail and waterway system needed to transport settlers, and circulate raw materials and finish goods. Macdonald believed that the only way for Canada to acquire and protect the land of the North West for commercial pursuits was to contract the infrastructural construction to a body of capitalists, instead of waiting for settlement to increase state revenue directly. Financial and industrial factions in the United States and Great Britain were petitioned with the promise of “most liberal grants of land in alternate blocks, and [we] may perhaps (but of this I cannot speak with any confidence) induce Parliament to add a small pecuniary subsidy”¹⁵⁰ (Macdonald, to C.F. Brydges, 28 January 1870, Ottawa, in Pope, 1921:124). To encourage continued investment, government would offer contracts for ‘large and valuable’ allowances of land (Macdonald, January 18, 1884: 23; January 17, 1881). As Macdonald suggests: “Money is waiting for investment, and that all that is wanted by capitalists in Canada, England, and the United States, aye, in France and Germany, is to learn whether this country is of the fixed, constant opinion that the National Policy shall be continued in 1878” (May 30, 1881). Construction of the passage inevitably came under the control of a syndicate of high-ranking members of the industrial bourgeoisie described in Chapter Two (Canada, 1868:373-6; 1874b:112-3; 1880:116).

According to the *Law of Nations*, governments must also establish a means of taxation to circulate commerce. Systematic emigration, colonization, and settlement policies were implemented as the main source of agricultural capital and labour and as a secondary source of revenue through taxation. Settlement of the North West would provide government with an “over-flowing treasury” and give the state the means of “carrying forward those great works necessary to the realization of our purpose to make this country a homogeneous whole” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:627 and 772-777). The success of the railway would be guaranteed through regional politics and control of the majority in the House of Commons to “bring hope, enterprise and activity to every branch of business, public and private” (Macdonald, May 30, 1881). While Mackenzie and Blake presented various ideas in their campaign and electoral speeches, they rarely objected to Macdonald’s ideas presented in the various parliamentary sessions as seen in the Speech from the Throne and the Address in Reply. Factional struggles were observed to be played outside of Parliament and in the public sphere from within varying political news organs, as was the case with ‘The Pacific Scandal’ of 1872 that ushered in an Official Opposition in the House of Commons (see Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2000: 89). Even so, there was little opposition afterward except for ongoing debates over economic policy, patronage, and purchasing including the tendering of contracts for supplies to friends and family which were of little consequence to the transformation process: capitalist structures would still be established regardless of whether they were

built by Canadian or American factions, and whether or not import duties on commodities were restrictive or free.

Agrarian settlers were seen as source of state wealth and revenue as the emigrant population “who would pay the largest proportion of the taxes” (Mackenzie, May 7, 1870: 1818). Macdonald politicised farmers as the “hardy, intelligent sons of the soil” (March 7, 1876,: 496). He campaigned to them with the promise of laissez-faire governance; he did not believe that government intervention¹⁵¹ in the farm industry was necessary, since the state of affairs in Europe determined the price of grain and the kinds of produce for export over which local, centralized bureaucracies had no control (Macdonald, March 7, 1876,: 496). He believed that farmers were an intelligent and most prosperous class in the country and would ensure a ‘flourishing and productive imperial economy’ in a ‘beneficient and healthful climate’ with such ‘fertile soil’ as the North West. While Mackenzie advocated trade unions and government intervention in labour practices concerning the urban workingmen as the basis of his political support, he also advocated a free trade approach to agriculture when speaking in the House and about the rural electorate, which was the Tory basis of political support. He believed that farmers would regulate themselves to “ensure the prosperity of the heart of the continent and the whole Dominion” without the aid of government (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 100; March 6, 1876: 499). It was the general view that there was “no life in the world in my estimation more happy and enviable than a farmer’s, under the circumstances in which he is placed in Canada” (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492).

A further method used to encourage food production was cooperation and care of each other through development of an agricultural ‘society.’ Settlement of future famers was a central focus of the opposition as a source of settlement revenue to fund the construction of the railway as the North West passage: a “grand trans-continental Imperial highway” needed to transport the produce of the North-West to markets all over the world (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207; Blake, December 14, 1880: 76). This passage would also “give manufacturers and exporters of the east fair ingress to that country” in order to “carry the traffic of China and Japan across the continent” (Blake, December 14, 1880: 76). An overland route would “transport the trade of the Indies to the markets of Europe” by way of “subsidized steamship lines on both oceans – to Europe, China, Japan, Australia, and the West Indies.” Sea trade was to be supplemented by a canal system that would be built “until the whole country is covered as with a network”¹⁵² (See Figure 1) (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948: 627 and 772-777). Mackenzie’s ideas of establishing a northern navigational network that intersected Blake’s proposed rail line into Hudson Bay using the water ways from the Rockies to Lake Superior as well as the oceans draining into Hudson Bay for commerce and emigration is interesting (Blake, 1884: 10). As Chitty (1867:68) suggests, Great Britain came to power as a significant state not because of its diminutive territorial land base, but because

of its ‘manly, brave, and adventurous natives’ and the exercise of government in cultivating navigation and merchant trade. It hoped that “a return of the system, injudiciously abandoned, will ere long take place” (Chitty, 1867:68). Policies concerning western expansion and development of the North West were designed to open up the nearest means of access between Great Britain and her dependencies in the Pacific. While an overland passage would bring the British Empire closer to the Orient, it would also provide commercial ‘traffic’ with Mexico and Spain and the Spanish colonies, in addition to South America, the West Indies, Europe, and Australia (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207; see also Macdonald 1882: 19; in Pope, 1948: 707). It was generally agreed that “communication with the North Western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the trade of the Great West with the Sea-Board, [be] regarded by the Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Confederation, [to] be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV.)

It would also be wise, Macdonald believed, to allow the ‘very wholesome transfer of the population’ from the older parts of Canada to the North West: “the people of this country have a right to go where they think their interests can be most promoted; and every man who, by going to the North-West either from Quebec, Ontario or the Maritime Provinces, increases his comfort, wealth and means, adds thereby to the wealth of the whole Dominion (Macdonald, February 10, 1882: 15). He suggested that men from Ontario are ‘the best settlers that can be found for a new country’ because they are experienced and used to our mode of agriculture, they bring skills and experience with them, they go there ready to prosper, and their improved farms and buildings can “and will be sold, and will be eagerly sought for by emigrants coming from the old country, who are not so capable of encountering the hardships of a prairie life as the people from Ontario” (Macdonald, April 28, 1880: 25). Friesen (1987) suggests that leaders of the *Canadian Conservative Party* of Red River had a role to play in the settlement process. Its members were pro-Canadian annexationists engaged in land speculation and colonization of the North West with English Protestants from Ontario (Friesen, 1987). As Pannekoek (1990) suggests, they were also supported by local English-speaking Métis in their politics. Macdonald further recommended the naturalization of German settlers as skilled labourers as their industry was ‘well known’. Their practice of selecting large tracts of land and bringing their doctors, blacksmiths, and artisans as a community was considered an asset for the North West (Macdonald, March 1, 188: 1193; 1880: 14). He proposed to do ‘everything’ in his power to induce them to settle and stay here¹⁵³: “They are a most valuable acquisition to our population, their civilization, and the education disseminated among them make them a most valuable class of immigrants and, therefore, no steps should be left un-attempted to increase their numbers and to satisfy them when they are here” (Macdonald, April 6, 1875: 1086). Loans to the ‘poorer classes’ of Mennonite

farmers of Russia for transportation would also be ‘a good investment’ in “adding to the population of the country a large number of the best emigrants for settlement in the Province of Manitoba and other parts of the Dominion”¹⁵⁴ (Mackenzie, February 15, 1875: 141).

The state designed pamphlets for distribution among Christian capitalists, farmers, and tradesmen from Great Britain and Western Europe to emigrate and produce and extract raw materials in the North West, and consume “the manufactures of the older provinces” (Macdonald, 1881: 22). To prevent new capitalists from devising their own economy, society, states, and/or system of government in the North West as was the case in the United States resulting in the American Revolution, an entire community was to be exported so as to “carry away from the soil of Great Britain the manners, the institutions, the religion, the private and the public character of those whom they leave behind on it; and so carry them away as to plant them in the new soil where they settle” (Wakefield, 1849:119). Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake envisioned the North West as the ideal plantation for this purpose; a “vast space that was now almost totally unoccupied by civilized men” (Mackenzie, December 5, 1867: 195). It would be their responsibility to transform the North West from within the state; from being “scarcely the footprint of the white man outside the province of Manitoba” to “hundreds of thousands of people who have gone from mere despair to the United States crowding into our own North-West Territories” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881).

Following Hinds (1832), Wakefield emphasizes the importance of attracting a ‘respectable, honourable, moral, well mannered, virtuous, intelligent, or otherwise cultivated and propertied’ class of landowners to settle first in order to influence the capitalist and labouring classes to settle in abundance.¹⁵⁵ It was suggested that the more property that members of this class owned, the more ‘respectable’ they would be in terms of being ‘fit’ to lead and govern, and to promote emigration to other classes.¹⁵⁶ To induce the emigration of a large class of landless labourers, Wakefield proposed that a class of propertied gentlemen and gentrified families of influence including wealthy industrialists, Christian clergy, lawyers, doctors, farmers of their own land, as well as British-born men of other professions and industrial pursuits should be encouraged to emigrate first. Macdonald appealed to the large scale capitalist farmer and tenant farmers in agricultural distress in the Mother Country to examine farming capabilities of the Dominion in this regard (Macdonald, 1880:14). Colonization was also promoted to friends, family, and community by colonists, settlers, and people with the ‘greatest interest in the welfare of the colony’ (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels: 100).

The state (and a bureaucracy) was needed to administer the transfer of both classes of British society to ensure a seamless ‘shift’ in residence from the old county to new ; ‘a mere change of scenery’

(Wakefield, 1849:115). The ‘chief men’ of the colony identified by Wakefield and Hinds - Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake – in this case study, would induce their peers to emigrate¹⁵⁷ and thus establish a society in the North West comprised of the same social and political union under which they had been ‘born and bred’ in the United Kingdom. The main goal in this regard was to ensure a representation of all classes of English society so that each settler would have his own class to fall into upon arrival. The North West was thereafter presented as the “happy home of hundreds of thousands – to use the smallest figure – of civilized men, of earnest, active, laboring men, working for themselves and their families, and making the country ... a populous and prosperous country” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). Mackenzie (1880) implemented assisted settlement for industrious labour classes from Britain who were likely to maintain themselves and prosper, and less likely to become idle and dependent on the state. These industrious classes were also perceived as being congenial to British manners, institutions, and prejudices, and respectful of the notion of private property even when property-less (Wakefield, 1849). Regardless of class or station, British people were seen as integral to settling the territories as ‘a race of people accustomed to free institutions’ (Macdonald, 1881: 5).

The freehold was also established as the means of producing *subsistence and surplus commodities* by labouring classes of farmers, who Macdonald viewed as capitalists, as discussed in Chapter Five. *Social classes* emerged through the policy of systematic emigration of capital and labour to establish the means of agricultural production in the territories. As previously discussed, Wakefield (1849:109; see also Hinds, 1832) theorized that successful colonization must transfer an entire community as the emigrating population. It was imperative that capitalists and labourers emigrate as a ‘state of economy’ to insure the same social and political union that prevailed in the old country¹⁵⁸. Representatives of the bourgeoisie envisioned the North West as part of a network of British colonies in North America supplying employment for idle labour of Britain. This was to be achieved through ‘plenty of government’ to oversee the emigration process in the North West as a way to manage land sales and municipal government. British labourers and capital, institutions, and culture would be exported from the old and wealthy country to the New World for the purpose of extracting resources and funding infrastructure. Their productive power would increase the joint wealth of Britain and Canada (and the bourgeoisie) simultaneously through the extension of markets and trade (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492; Mackenzie, April 13, 1883: 599). The plantation of ‘customers’ by the older state to the new would also increase the production and consumption of manufactured goods, and further the reach and resources of the British Empire (Macdonald, May 15, 1867: 707).

A grant of 160 acres was considered adequate for this purpose as outlined in the *Dominion Lands Act/Homestead Act* of 1872. This property was offered to British emigrants, established subjects, and

“every man having a lease from the HBC or being a tenant-at-will [who] should have a right to the freehold vested in his own person, thus enabling them to become the proprietors of their own land” (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 67). While farmers were issued Letters Patent upon proof of improvements to the land, control over the land and resources was retained by the Dominion until 1930, when control was transferred to the provinces. Before the land could be settled and improved, the North West required a colonization route. State executives proposed a transcontinental railway to open up the full potential of ‘an enormous steamship trade’ on the Pacific Ocean between British Columbia and China and Japan, as well as other foreign countries and sister colonies (Macdonald, 1881: 10). Every class in the community would prosper from this trade: railway construction would create full employment for British emigrants and the workingmen of Canada, and carry the produce of agriculture through the country for consumption in England and elsewhere. It would also return goods for consumption among the settlements and for transportation elsewhere. While promotion of agricultural settlement among indigenous peoples and British emigrants was a priority, the attention of government was clearly on fostering infant industries among the capitalists “so that we might make this country a manufacturing country like that of our neighbour, so that the people might not be employed in the one industry of agriculture alone” (Macdonald, May 15, 1867: 707; February 12, 1883: 25).

Agricultural capitalism was to be nurtured through the granting of large ‘blocs’ of land to Christian colonies as the means of industry, temperance, and ‘a higher state of civilization’ in the North West (Macdonald May 5, 1880). Modern technology and abundant farm implements would be required for such enterprise, supplied by the commercial and industrial factions of the bourgeoisie. However, as discussed, the opposition was adamant that “Parliament, not the Executive, should decide on the alienation of lands to aid railways in the North-West” (Blake, December 10, 1880: 12-14; Blake, February 12, 1883: 20). As Blake (February 12, 1883: 20) states, “everybody thought they were going to get rich off the ‘land craze of the North-West’ with little investment, at no cost or risk, and somebody else’s expense.” The opposition suggested that “the Conservatives had a colonization company for everybody, for every class, for every denomination” and that “speculative sales to colonization or great farming companies other than on conditions of settlement [were] injurious instead of advantageous,” because some of these companies were “expelling [Métis] settlers off their land rather than settling immigrants on it”¹⁵⁹ (Blake, February 12, 1883: 20).

PART II

6.2 The Relevance of Ideology to the Legitimization of a Capitalist State and Economy in the North West, 1867 to 1885

Part II of this chapter explains the relevance of ideology to state executives as a means of legitimizing¹⁶⁰ a capitalist economy and central state authority over it in the North West. In the first instance, state executives justified their policies concerning annexation and development as being foundational principles of the *Law of Nations*. I suggest that these principles were also reinterpreted to justify the establishment of what Marx (1959) observes as coercive ideological structures needed to validate central authority over the economy in the territories. The following sections answer the question of how capitalist social formation was legitimized in the North West by explaining how state executives engaged parliamentary government to coerce support for control of the local economy by a centralized state. This Part of the chapter explains how state executives disseminated the ideas of distributive justice to compel emigrant and indigenous populations to cultivate it and extract resources. Specifically, the following sections explain how state executives use the idea of government to legitimize the idea of citizenship and self-government in order to coerce production.

6.2.1 The Relevance of a Parliamentary form of Government to the Legitimization of a Capitalist Economy in Rupert's Land and the North West

State executives argued that it was the role of central government to control development in the North West as soon as the property was transferred to the Dominion (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 68). As previously stated, state executives believed that Canada had a legal right to annex 'unused' territories of North America. At the same time, Macdonald recognized the boundaries of international law with regard to Treaty-making with indigenous inhabitants and the state's responsibility for the provision of entitlements as per the *Law of Nations* (Macdonald, 1871: 14). Still, the legal constitution of the North West was a matter of concern for state executives who wanted to form a central authority in the territories. As Macdonald states, "to fail is to fail in our duty and our children's children would have occasion to regret it; and expatriated from what should have been their inheritance, would curse the want of patriotism, and want of common sense displayed by their ancestors" (December 6, 1867: 226). Prior to 1867, the bourgeoisie were united against a common enemy: the republic and its supporters including the Fenian Brotherhood. Before the purchase and transfer of Rupert's Land and the union of the North West with Canada circa 1870, party lines were erased in the interest of class solidarity in the interest of Confederation and western expansion (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 89). Political leaders worked together as a Coalition and acted "a 'patriot's part' in supporting the government to carry out

Confederation” (Mackenzie, November 12, 1867: 35). Capitalism was viewed as the universal mode of reproducing Imperial power, British culture, and bourgeois interests in British North America where there was ‘room’ for two political systems for the purpose of facilitating continental commercial development (Mackenzie, July 13, 1875).

The people of the North West were to be admitted into the union “on such terms and conditions as the Parliament of the Confederation shall deem equitable, and as shall receive the assent of the Sovereign” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715 Appendix XIV). Macdonald (1882: 19) was of the view that “we can only expect by a long continuance of patient firmness to induce these children of the Prairie and the Forest to abandon their nomadic habits, become self-supporting, and ultimately add to the industrial wealth of the country.” Instead of establishing local legislatures, federal legislation was designed to protect local bands and ensure their agricultural interests in the land as entrenched in the *Indian Act, 1876*. The state took on a paternal role after the Treaties were signed through the management and control of indigenous people, land, and resources.¹⁶¹ While concerns about administration of colonial property and Crown land as a function of central government appears as a prevalent theme throughout the data, the need for state management of ‘Indian’ affairs through legislation and various Acts entrenched the legal control of indigenous peoples in the constitution, which required further expansion of the central bureaucracy. The rationale for this was to prevent their starvation and protect their property against American and Fenian aggression, including “enormous inducements [that] were offered to them to sever their connection with Britain and Canada”¹⁶² (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 73). Settlement of indigenous peoples on reserve until such time as they could be ‘civilized’ as British subjects, enfranchised property owners, and patriotic tax-paying citizens was foremost in leading indigenous leaders to believe in the ‘possibility’ of self-government of their own affairs (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1944). According to Macdonald (in response to Dawson, March 24, 1879: 678), their tutelage required the “parceling out of reserve lands ... to break up the tribal system that was inherited from their ancestors and endeared to the Indians by manly association as a last remaining protection against the rapacity of the white man.”

As stated previously, Macdonald believed it was ‘injudicious’ to give control of Manitoba and its resources to the people as this would interrupt agricultural and commercial development (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1318). Central authority over the economy in the North West was justified as being necessary to settlement and commercial development as the means of raising state revenue. It was proposed that “all the vast Territory should be for the purpose of settlement under one control of the Dominion Legislature” because “control of these lands would allow government to repay the disbursement of 300,000 pounds instead of being charged to the people of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick” (Macdonald, 1.3, May 2, 1870: 1318). Once the population became ‘sufficient’ to give it

popular representative government”¹⁶³ the people would get provincial status, a constitution, and self-government. Until then, territorial governments would be a council form of responsible government that would be watched and kept in order by public opinion (Wakefield, 1849:316-7). In the meantime, ‘the Parliament of Canada’ would legislate for its welfare and good government. However, as Blake (June 30, 1885: 2930) suggests, government of the North West was “completely in the hands of the Executive.”

Appointments and nominations made by state executives ensured control by the majority in the House concerning access to economic resources in the North West, justified as the way “to bring hope, enterprise and activity to every branch of [territorial] business, public and private” (Macdonald, May 30, 1881). State executives also determined the point at which the people could administer their own affairs, which would not be until a British population had been settled that was sufficient to establish British institutions including a strong home market developed through commercial infrastructure and protective tariffs: “only then would the people have local government” (Macdonald, Last Address to the People of Canada, in Pope, 1948:627 and 772-777). As discussed, it was to be left to the wisdom of central government to “settle the mode of government in that territory, which would be a provisional one according to the wants of the country” (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 223). A representative with knowledge of Parliament and the people was sent to find out what these wants were: responsible government. However, based on the information that was collected, he laid the foundation for a provisional “Government of necessity founded upon the same principle as our representative institutions”¹⁶⁴ (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 69). Management of the territories would therefore remain under the constitutional authority of a Lieutenant Governor until there was large body of people “to be ruled” (Macdonald, February 11, 1876: 15). Law and order was politicized as being necessary to the protection of emigrants and settlers and their property *from* indigenous peoples in the North West when Mackenzie was at the helm of the state. Indigenous peoples were also to be assured of the state’s “thorough and efficient protection of them, and the justice and liberality of the Canadian and British authorities,” to ensure that they came to see the importance of law and order on the plains: “the very greatest importance that the British authority should be formally recognized and established among all the tribes of that country” (Mackenzie, February 11, 1876: 18).

6.2.2 The Relevance of Law, Order, and Distributive Justice to the Legitimization of a Capitalist Economy in Rupert’s Land and the North West

The new seat was to be styled as “the North-West Territories,” governed by an appointed Lieutenant Governor assisted by a council¹⁶⁵ (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 654). The territories would be recognized as a “Crown Colony under our own immediate surveillance” which would “put the legislation of the territory in the hands of the Government here in Ottawa” (Mackenzie, April 1, 1875: 1034; March

12, 1875: 659). Mackenzie proposed to develop the federal territory from within the bureaucracy at Ottawa and prepare it for the promotion of settlement under new laws, as there was “nothing so essential to the settlement of the country as the maintenance of law and order within its bounds.” The establishment of law and order was foremost prerequisite to the promotion of settlement in this regard:

The people abroad who read our reports and seek information about our country should understand that we have not merely an immense extent of fertile territory in the North-West, but that it is in a position that law and order can be enforced; that there is nothing to be feared from the wandering tribes or aborigines, and that everything has been done to prepare for the introduction and settlement of the large population that may naturally be expected to arrive from Europe (Mackenzie, February 22, 1876: 198; Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 657).

Discourses on distributive justice were observed in the data as regards the legitimization of central or ‘British’ authority in the territories. Macdonald politicized equality and justice as being a ‘slow’ process in terms of the attainment of self-government so as to prevent disorder and dissent or uprising for control of the local economy through local government. In the “aim of justice for the people of the North-West,” central government was to decide on the representation question for the people of the North-West Territories until they became “responsible fellow-subjects” through enfranchisement as citizens (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 54; February 25, 1885; 1886: 13; July 6, 1885). A local legislative council was constructed to ‘provide and make laws respecting the altering or amending of a local constitution (once formulated), the administration of justice, direct taxation, and the establishment of local offices, agriculture, education including the right and privilege by law to legislate on separate Protestant or Catholic school for minority populations, immigration, and sale and management of public lands, excepting lands belonging to the General Government’¹⁶⁶ (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV). To protect imperial interests, Macdonald entrenched the idea that the laws of the general parliament could supersede those made by these councils: it was believed that “the natural tendency of public men is to look more to sectional than to general interests, to be disinclined to side with the Dominion and against the province should their interests come into conflict” (Macdonald, Private Letter to Sir John Young, Ottawa, January 18, 1869, in Pope: 1948:373 and 733; in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV). While state executives implemented policies to prevent sectional interests from gaining control of the legislature and therefore the economy, members of the local legislative council had to be “British subjects by birth or naturalization, and age 30, possess real property in the province of their continuous residence in which they are appointed of 4,000 dollars over and above their debts and liabilities” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715Appendix XIV). They were to be “appointed by the Crown from among the residents of the province with office for life” with ‘due regard’ for fair representation of both political parties (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715Appendix XIV). Population was to be the basis for representation in the House of Commons “as determined by official census every ten years ... readjusted as entitled on the same ratio of

representation to population” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715 Appendix XIV). Macdonald initially implemented the English system of qualification of voters and the open system of voting as the ‘manlier form of declaring one’s political preference’, which Mackenzie reformed in 1874¹⁶⁷ to accommodate ‘established working men’ and the labour class of white, British emigrants.

Macdonald believed in the idea of electoral justice suggesting that it was “most desirable” that any “class of men in one Province should exercise the same rights of voting as the same body in any of the other Provinces, and they would hold that they were wronged if not allowed that right” (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757). Yet while he personally advocated such ‘fancy’ franchises, he did not think he could “educate our people up to it” (Macdonald to Brown Chamberlin, 26 October 1868, in Pope, 1921:74-5). It was made very clear that “whether the franchise be uniform, whether the right to vote be uniform in all the Provinces, whether the same qualification should exist - the right of settling what this qualification is should rest with the Dominion Parliaments and not the Provincial Parliaments” (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757; February 12, 1883: 24). While Macdonald saw the secret ballot as ‘American and Un-british (sic)’ (in Buckingham and Ross, 1892:381), Mackenzie viewed electoral reform and the vote as a British working-men’s right introduced by the Chartists in 1838 (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000). Macdonald believed that “the exercise of the electoral franchise was a trust not a right, and therein its superiority consisted over the American system of universal suffrage” (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757). He proposed that “the great questions to be asked in deciding whether or not a man shall exercise the franchise, was whether or not he has a sufficient interest at stake in the country to be entrusted with a share of the Government” (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757).

Thus the possession of property in real estate became the basis of qualification of the franchise and representation in government¹⁶⁸. As Macdonald argued, “if people having no interest in the country are allowed to govern it, if one person holding no property is to govern the property of another who is possessed thereof, then the constitution is wrong and unsafe” (Macdonald, May 1 1869: 369-70; 1870, March 29, 1879: 757). In keeping with de Vattel’s principles regarding tolerance, representation would be sanctioned for “both races of English and French” so as to “prevent great struggles and unfortunate dissensions of a racial character” (Macdonald, 1881: 5). Central government would avail ‘the full power’ of provincial legislation in order to “build up as a portion of the British Empire institutions of their own choice, by laws of their own making (Macdonald, 1870: 13). Once again, this would only occur after a ‘suitable’ representation of British society had been established in the North West; specifically, members of the upper classes of Britain who could meet the property requirement. Mackenzie abolished property qualification for candidates in the House of Commons in 1874 through the *Dominion Elections Act, 1874* which also established secret vote by ballot, but did not try to reform the qualifications of individual seats

in the local legislature¹⁶⁹ (Mackenzie, in Buckingham and Ross, 1892:381). To be included in the local legislative process required locals to own property. Recall that while Indigenous peoples were provided with land as part of Treaty entitlements, it did not automatically represent property in this context. Instead, Indigenous peoples had to earn the right of enfranchisement.

Census information on population estimates to this end were impressive; by 1880, it was estimated that some '90,000 Indians' were in various stages of tutelage and training, and while all were considered 'eligible' for the franchise upon completion, none 'had representation in the House'¹⁷⁰ (Macdonald in response to Dawson, March 24, 1879: 678). Macdonald believed that it was "rather unfair that Indians should not vote who have a right in the soil on which their improvement have been made" (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2104 - 2112). It was proposed that "if an Indian purchased land, he became one of her Majesty's subjects, and could vote the same as a white man, if he had the same qualifications as a white man" (Macdonald, March 24, 1879: 678; March 31, 1879: 845). He held the view that "Indians on a reserve, who have distinct and separate holdings, who have made improvements – a house or other improvements – to the value of \$150, should have a vote, just as much as any other occupant or tenant" (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2104 - 2112).

However, it became clear to state executives by the late 1870's that systematic colonization of the North West and cultural amalgamation of Indigenous peoples towards settlement and cultivation was not working as planned. British peoples were not emigrating at a satisfactory rate and indigenous peoples were neither settling nor improving the land, and showed little interest in enfranchisement. In fact "the inducement was so small that very few Indians had asked for the privilege" (Macdonald, March 2, 1876: 342-3). Only in some cases was it accepted to 'some' degree by the band, but not unanimously, even among families: "the enfranchised father, who has proved himself worthy, occupies the estate that is all too often dissipated by the children. They return to the semi-wild habits of the tribe, and the property is lost" (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 541). Instead of abandoning the tribal system of governance and assimilating with the rest of the population in a capitalist state¹⁷¹, they were embracing a state of tutelage. As Macdonald (May 26, 1885: 2107) suggests, 'the two states were incompatible':

They have great advantages as they are now, They have their reserves; their land in common, they deal with that land after their own fashion, they do not pay any taxes, they are not obliged to serve in the militia or to serve on juries, and have all the advantages of the protection of the government and of the country, and yet except by the purchase of dutiable goods like whiskey or imported goods, they contribute nothing to the public revenue (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 540-1).

As previously discussed, the *Enfranchisement Act* was passed with "the good intention" of encouraging enfranchisement toward freehold citizenship (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 540-1). However:

The machinery was quite cumbrous. By way of protecting the Indians from the consequences of their own improvidence, they were surrounded with so many safeguards that really it became rather a complicated system for them to obtain enfranchisement, and considerable reluctance among the Indians to adopt the Act” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 540-1).

Macdonald believed it would be wise to “promote the interests of the Indians in Manitoba and the North-West as a measure applicable to the whole Dominion for the purpose of encouraging the more advanced Indian communities to assume the responsibilities of self-government” (1884:10). He prescribed the use of ‘British Indians’ from eastern Canada who had been assimilated under the ‘*Gradual Civilization Act, 1857*’ as role models for the purpose of encouraging civilization through enfranchisement on the Plains, and in “the training of various bands for the exercise of municipal powers” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884, p. 538). The *Enfranchisement Act, 1869* was instituted “for the purpose of enabling the Indians to do by elective council what the chiefs, by the statute of 1800, have already the power to do. In some of the tribes and bands those chiefs are elected now, in others the office is hereditary, and in others a mixture of both (Macdonald, February 26, 1884, p. 538). The Bill was intended for “larger systems where the Indians are more advanced in education and feel more self-confident and more willing to undertake power and self-government. They shall elect their councils much the same as the whites do in the neighboring townships (Macdonald, February 26, 1884, p. 538). However, Liberal factions were vehemently opposed to these policies:

How are these men to decide for us the political government of the country, what our rights are to be, and the due and proper course of a free man, when they are not free men themselves? . . . We will give him the franchise. He chooses not to give up the tribal system and abandon the state of tutelage this system involves; he declines to acquire all the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens; he refuses to assimilate with the rest of the population; he does not provide enough clothing for his children so that the poor naked creatures are not able to go to school; he cannot take care of himself, and we have to take care of him. They have all the advantages of first-class land within reach of good markets, instruction, free rent, and yet they are unable to produce sufficient to provide for their families. But incapable as he is of controlling his own, we will give him the right to manage ours (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106-9).

The bourgeois Liberal-Conservative alliance was weakened on this point, however Macdonald continued to appeal to Parliament for “some means of advancing the Indians in the scale of civilisation” (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991). As discussed in Chapter Five and Part I of these findings, British institutions were established to encourage upper class British populations to emigrate. Macdonald also believed that indigenous peoples could learn from them ‘hands on’ through “the observance of order and decorum at elections of councillors, meetings of council, and any other assemblies of Indians on the reserve” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). Inducements were used to encourage enfranchisement through settlement, cultivation, and taxation on reserves and to seek independence from the state by raising their

own revenue for the construction and repair of school houses and buildings, roads, bridges, and water courses on reserve land, as well as for the care of public health (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). As Macdonald states, “I have received a good many suggestions from educated men of different bands of Indians who have judged the effect of this law, and it has been favourably received by the advanced bands (February 26, 1884: 538). While the establishment of municipal government on reserves was a state experiment¹⁷², state executives saw “no danger” of the bands being wronged by it (Macdonald, March 17, 1881). Macdonald felt that “the Indians are now being well-educated,” and that while “there must be some time when they cease to be in a state of tutelage and be obliged to assume the responsibilities of civilized men,” there will be no forced rules, as it would be “very unwise to try to force white ideas on the red men prematurely” (February 26, 1884: 541-2).

PART III

6.3 The Relevance of Ideology to the Reproduction of the Conditions of Capitalist Society in the North West

The principles of the *Law of Nations* toward the use of religion in the perfection of productive - and therefore happy - citizens were also observed as themes in the data. I suggest that these principles were reinterpreted toward the use of what Marx and Engels (1947) and Gramsci (1971) observe as ideological forms of hegemony or cultural leadership used to compel behaviour. Part III of this chapter explains the relevance of religion to inducing conformity and the support of civil society in the colonization and civilization of indigenous and emigrant peoples. The following sections answer the question of how the (social) relations of a capitalist economy were reproduced in the North West. These sections explain how state executives engaged religion as a means of inducing conformity among indigenous population through their ‘civilization’ as members of a Christian community, society, and nation. They explain the role of the clergy, Christians, and Christian ethics in compelling obedience, self-reliance, self-restraint, and citizenship toward support for capitalist structures as the means of prosperity for emigrant *and* indigenous populations in the North West. The following sections show how the clergy, state officials, and members of society influenced behaviour through a system of moral governance that created hegemony of Christian belief as the guiding principles of the new economy, state, and society.

Next to the care of justice, the care and use of religion as a means of perfecting the nation as a productive commercial society or community was a principle duty of government according to de Vattel. According to de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867), government is obliged to enlighten the nation with useful knowledge. Christian nations were not to fear liberal education as the means of distinguishing between good and evil. Rather, they were to embrace public school instruction and focus on their citizenship.

While public education of youth was a means of national prosperity, not all members of the nation were to be educated equally in the interest of distributive justice or the sanctity of reward and treatment according to one's 'deserts.' While those in the upper classes received liberal arts science education, the producing classes were to be taught the practical arts with a focus on obedience. As Macdonald states, "the old Enfranchisement act (sic) was passed with a good intention to encourage by degrees, the Indians to enfranchise themselves to become freeholders, and to assume the responsibility of citizenship" (February 26, 1884: 540-1). Christian ethics were observed to play a major role in this process.

6.3.1 The Relevance of 'Civilization' to the Reproduction of a Capitalist Economy in the North West

The civilization of Indigenous peoples is also observed to be part of the perfection of commercial society in the North West outlined in the *Law of Nations*. This was a process that began in 1857 when state executives enacted the *Gradual Civilization Act* discussed previously. The Act was designed to 'sever the ties which connected them with their band' and induce indigenous peoples to "[cease] to be Indian by ceasing to adhere to this system which has become a part of their nature and everyday life" (Macdonald in response to Dawson, March 24, 1879: 678). It stipulated the terms of gradual or voluntary enfranchisement of any 'recognized male Indian over 21 years of age, of good *moral* character was capable of managing his own affairs, and in the case of his death, his widow, if she continued to act respectably'. My observations suggest that in addition to law, Christianity had a major role to play in what Elias (1970) conceptualizes as a civilizing process. Specifically, Christian ethics were engaged as a means of moral regulation (of production) to induce support for settlement and new forms of cultivation, labour, private property, and obedience to the laws of the sovereign state¹⁷³. It is important to recall Hunt's (1982) argument regarding Christian ethics as an element of the bourgeois worldview that manifests as self-restraint within the middle and producing classes as well. This was observed in the data where every 'perfected' or productive British subject with a skill, trade, or specialization had a role to play in the development of a capitalist economy in all colonies and economic zones held by the British Empire, including Canada and its newly acquired territories.

Before indigenous peoples could be emancipated from the state and enfranchised, they had to be integrated into the new society as British subjects. A body of legislation was enacted to make them 'wards' of the state as discussed in the previous section. However, as Macdonald illustrates, certain actions were necessary to mitigate the effects of the paternal aspects of colonization whereby "the Indians have been great sufferers by the discovery of America, and the transfer to it of a larger white population" (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991). To prevent further conflict, indigenous peoples were to be assimilated as productive citizens. A civilizing process was engaged to create the specialized labour force needed to

produce surpluses and taxes to pay down the loan for the Rupert's Land purchase, build a communications network and infrastructure, and induce the settlement of capital and labour necessary for continued commercial development. The use of central government funds to encourage agricultural pursuits on reserves was seen as the only way to 'save the Indians of the North-West from absolute starvation, disease, and calls for relief in the future'¹⁷⁴ (Macdonald, 1880:15), and prevent any further 'drain' on government. Allocation of various implements and livestock was to be provided as part of Treaty supplies, supplied by the industrial bourgeoisie where "tenders can come from the rest of the Dominion, especially from Ontario"¹⁷⁵, I fancy, it being the nearest, with regard to provisions of bacon, flour and all other articles to which the Indians have a right under the seven treaties that exist" (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102). Construction of a railway was needed to 'transport these implements and produce and bring about a better condition of affairs where Indians are rendered more independent and self supporting' (Macdonald, May 3, 1882: 1291). Other special provisions would be made, as in the case of sawing of lumber and grinding of grain where "Government and Indians shall have preference over any other work done at the mill" (Macdonald, February 11, 1884: 199-200). The model for their success would be British Columbia:

"[The Indians of BC] are very profitably employed in the industries and mines and they work very well. But it must be remembered that they are not white men, and civilized, and must be strictly watched. They are very suspicious and easily aroused; the white population is sparse, and the Indians feel yet that they are lords of the country" (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102).

If the happiness of British subjects was to be brought about through emigration and the ownership of private property, their felicity or satisfaction depended upon the peaceful use and enjoyment of it once they arrived. Individual aspiration and respect for rights in the context of ownership of private property would have to be instilled among indigenous populations either by internalizing desire for it or coercing self restraint concerning occupation and use of lands that were being divided up as private property for the purpose of agriculture¹⁷⁶.

Disparities between emigrant and indigenous populations in terms of access to property were seen as temporary. Macdonald argued that the plains peoples in the North West were 'destitute because of the disappearance of the buffalo as their main source of their bread, wine and meat.' Further, that they had been "almost deprived of that source of food supply by the action of the American Government in keeping back, so far as a cordon of troops can do so, the herds of buffalo from crossing the line into the North" (Macdonald, February 10, 1882: 15). It was felt that as long as Americans applied this tactic in North West, "we will not have any more buffalo on our land" (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102). However, as Macdonald (May 9, 1883: 1102) admits, he was "not at all sorry, as I have said before, that this has happened. As long as the buffalo were on this side of the line, the Indians would not settle down on the

reserves.” Indigenous peoples were to be re-oriented toward the standards of ‘British’ agricultural society. State executives developed various educational policies aimed at their integration to the social ways and mores of production under British institutions controlled by executive and legal power in transforming tribal government. The main methods to this end were tutelage in the art of farming, the values of honour, and the responsibilities of British citizenship where self-taxation and respect for the rule of law and government according to law were foremost¹⁷⁷. Self-reliance and restraint were brought about through the establishment of Catholic and (Orange) Protestant industrial (residential) schools for boys and for girls on or near reserve lands in the fertile valleys of Battleford and Qu’Appelle¹⁷⁸. Schools of higher education housing eighty students would be established in the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia to train ‘the brightest and most promising’ pupils in industrial pursuits, the knowledge of which would enable them eventually to rise in the social scale to equality with the ‘white citizen or husbandman’.

It was believed that “unless institutions and improved methods for educating and training the children are adopted, but little hope for the intellectual enlightenment or social elevation of the Indians need be entertained” (Macdonald, May 4, 1885: 2111). To prevent the absence of school children during seasons of hunting, berry-picking, and fishing, the “school instructors will be instructed to adapt to periods of vacation at a time when Indians will be absent from the reserves” (Macdonald, May 4, 1885: 2111). However, “the Indian youth must be disassociated from such prejudicial influences by which he is surrounded on the reserve of his band to enable him to cope successfully with his brother of white origin.” Institutions would therefore be established where “Indian children are to be lodged, fed, and clothed and instructed in the usual branches of education” (Macdonald, May 4, 1885: 2111). They were to be kept separate from home influences and taught trades specific to agriculture. The state started to ‘collect’ the most “prominent’ young Indians, and planned to “very likely have them brought up with white people in order to bring about a certain fusion of mixture of the races with very great advantage to the Indians” (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1434). Macdonald believed that “there is no use of putting Indians on reserves to teach each other agriculture” (Macdonald, May 3, 1882: 1291). Government instructors would be instituted to show them the utility of the oxen in the cultivation of their farms¹⁷⁹ (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426). Local agents who possessed practical knowledge of farming would be appointed to instruct Treaty indigenous peoples in the art of agriculture, livestock, and building repair. It was hoped that farming would “no doubt change the condition of the Indians, insofar as their need to resort to their old ways of basket-making, axe handle manufacturing, bead work, Moccasin making, and other Indian handicrafts” (Macdonald, 1881; May 9, 1883: 2111).

Settlement would also prevent “their old congenial habit of wandering about the country to the suburbs of the towns and cities to dispose of these articles to provide for their families, which leads to evil

results to them, morally and materially, as many of them are addicted to the inordinate use of intoxicants” (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 2111). Resident agents would be stationed on or in the immediate vicinity of the reserve “so as to instruct them and to protect their interests in the timber and other valuables on the reserve,” and to “check the evil of the illegal renting of land to white people, who farm it very badly, and take all they can off it without putting anything on the soil to renew it”¹⁸⁰ (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 2111). An inspector would be appointed “to judge whether or not matters were being properly managed.” It was hoped that “they would be yearly more able to produce their own food from the soil, instead of trusting altogether to hunting” (Macdonald, March 4, 1879: 127). As Macdonald states, “all we can hope for is to wean them, by slow degrees, from their nomadic habits, which have almost become an instinct, and by slow degrees absorb them or settle them on the land. Mean time they must be fairly protected” (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991).

6.3.2 The Relevance of Christianity to the Reproduction of a Capitalist Economy in the North West

As de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867) stated, citizens must know the rules of their nation. The legislative powers of government were to be so fixed so that every subject knew exactly what they were: what a person might lawfully do, and what they cannot do. Recall also that it was up to the state to impart knowledge and speech in the form of language to enable communication. English language training and the teachings of Christianity toward “the repression of intemperance and profligacy” became benchmarks in the practical education of indigenous people toward civil obedience and administration of their own ‘Indian’ affairs (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). While native languages were prohibited, Aboriginal peoples were also reoriented in their spirituality through the banning of religious practices. Education was instrumental in the development of Indigenous peoples as British subjects and ‘self-supporting’ agricultural producers and citizens. As Macdonald states:

It would be in the interest of the Indian population ... to induce them to forsake their nomadic habits and betake themselves to pastoral and agricultural pursuits to promote their civilization and render them self-reliant and self-supporting, and relieve the Dominion Treasury from the burden of rescuing them from their apparently chronic state of destitution (Macdonald, March 21, 1881: 1467).

However, concerns were voiced about aptitude: “We have seen individuals of this race succeed, by means of education, but the exception proves the rule. The general rule is that you cannot make the Indian a white man. An Indian once said to myself: ‘We are the wild animals; you cannot make an ox out of a deer’” (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991).

Wakefield (1849:152) proposed religion as way to restrain savage ‘barbarism’ existing in the newer British colonies. He looked to the colonial methods of France in promoting religion aimed at

creating a ‘polite, virtuous, and happy’ people as that found in French Canada. In addition to residential schools and reserves, Wesleyan Methodism was proposed to lead colonization and civilization in the territories with its zeal, talent, energy, funds, and method of profound government structure. It would rule over its congregation of poor and middle class emigrants, penetrate the remotest Indigenous settlements, and reach out to those who were otherwise ignored by organized religion, while leaving the upper classes alone. Religious missions would be provided to the ‘basest and most brutish’ element of the population, including the “paupers, vagabonds, and sluts” already there (Wakefield 1849:157). While married Methodist men engaged in the more political ends of colonization, including the selection of married couples and healthy young women and men of child-bearing age to promulgate an industrious community, the ‘more religious’ married women would play a major role in instilling chivalry and honour, peace, and politeness among new emigrants and existing settlers in the community¹⁸¹. The Wesleyans were considered “an important body, in England as well as in Canada, and are bringing out the very best classes of emigrants to the North-West¹⁸²” (Macdonald, February 12, 1883: 25). Not only would they provide religious instruction to emigrants and indigenous peoples, they would support ‘the powers that be’: Doctor Ryerson expresses his opinion that The Wesleyan Methodist Body will come out strongly in our favour” (Macdonald to Alexander MacNab on the University Bill, 23 July 1857, in Ottawa, 1968: 72-3).

6.3.3 The Relevance of Christian Ethics to the Reproduction of Capitalist Society in the North West

While assimilation programmes were in effect, the focus was clearly on colonization and settlement of the Métis and emigration of British labour to create a specialized labour force able to produce its own subsistence and a surplus in addition to various consumer goods that generated state revenue and income through taxation. As Macdonald states, “food must be had, somehow and soon, for the perishing multitudes” (May 3, 1880: 1942; February 11, 1875: 68). Purchases were at the moment being made in the nearest market in the United States which was seen as detrimental to Canada and the British Empire (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 68). To encourage emigration of experienced agrarians, it was to be made clear in advertisements that ‘farmers’ sent to the North West would be furnished with food for one year and “if they ran short they would be supplied from the stores for destitute Indians” (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1434). This was a common form of settlement propaganda; the prevailing attitude of state executives was that industrious farmers would be “thoroughly able to take care of themselves [as] the most prosperous class in the country” (Mackenzie, February 21, 1876: 183). State executives politicized American tactics, crop failures, general disinterest, and lack of agricultural experience among Treaty peoples as “[causing] the Indians to be thrown at the mercy of government [and] we could not, as Christians and men, allow them to starve”¹⁸³ (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102). It was the

objective of state executives to “make them responsible fellow-subjects of ours”¹⁸⁴ (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 541).

On the other hand, the Métis of the Saskatchewan Valley were held responsible for their strife: “the Red River half breeds who, impatient of civilization, left Manitoba after having squandered their land scrip, and are now on the plains”¹⁸⁵ (Macdonald, to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921:317-9). There were to be no extra food supplies, Treaties, and/or land entitlements offered to French and English-speaking Métis peoples west of Manitoba as a means of inducing subsistence and self-reliance, as in the mass land granting that previously occurred in Red River circa 1875. While Macdonald viewed the Métis people of Red River “as a whole, quite loyal” he was of the opinion that they “preferred their present wild and semi-barbarous life to the restraints of civilization that will be forced upon them by the Canadian Government and the new settlers”¹⁸⁶ (Macdonald, to Earl of Carnarvon, Ottawa, 14 April 1870, in Pope, 1921: 132-4). He expressed his concern in this regard:

When the Province of Manitoba was formed, it was arranged that all the holdings of the people, white or mixed, given or permitted by the Hudson’s Bay Co. along the Red River and Assiniboine should be recognized. This was carried out and land scrip issued to the complete satisfaction of the half breeds there. But the French half breed won’t farm (the English and Scotch half breed will). They sold their scrip at a great sacrifice, and spent the money in debauchery (Macdonald, to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921: 317-9).

There would be no cash payments either. As Macdonald (March 7, 1883: 131) suggests, “history is always of great assistance to governments.” Government knew ‘the nature of the population of the country ... that the majority of them were half-breeds or Indians, and that there was great danger if we paid them in money instead of food, that they would spend it on intoxicating liquors’ (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 68).

The Métis would not be seen as a distinct nation and/or provided with separate land holdings, as in the case of Treaty indigenous peoples on the plains. Macdonald was of the view that “the half breeds on the Northwest plains west of Manitoba *never had any holdings* and were mere Nomads roaming over the prairie with the Indians and living by hunting and as carriers of goods in little carts. Both hunting and carting have ceased and they are starving” (Macdonald, to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921:317-9; my italics). Everything would be done “so as to retain the liberty of every class and creed of Her Majesty’s subjects on the same footing” so that “no one shall have any special claims or privileges recognized in that new Territory” (Mackenzie, May 2, 1870: 1297). The Scrip and Homestead arrangements in place in the Saskatchewan Valley were seen as fair and

there would be no further or special provisions for self-government either: enfranchisement of the Métis as individual members of the mainstream electorate was observed as the goal instead. Individual properties were allocated for this purpose where the ‘old’ or original inhabitants who settled in the Saskatchewan Valley after the abolition of the Charter could take 160 acres as a homestead in addition to land in Manitoba: “they had a right to both” (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3113). Political rights were attached to their freehold as property, including electoral rights and the ability to participate in local and federal politics (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 67; 68; March 29, 1879: 757; February 26, 1884: 540-1; July 6, 1885: 3113; Mackenzie, 1878: 29). However, as Macdonald suggests, these properties as the bases of production and political support were not being developed to their full potential:

Where ever there is an Indian settlement, the whites in the vicinity are very naturally anxious – when they see the slovenly, unfarmerlike, way in which the Indian lands are cultivated especially if the lands be very good – to get rid of the red men, believing, and perhaps, truly, that the progress of the locality is retarded by them, and that the sooner they are enfranchised, or deprived of their lands, and allow to shift for themselves, the better. I daresay it would be better (Macdonald, May 5, 1880: 1991).

When amalgamation failed, integration was coerced ‘by every means of government power’ consistent with Canada’s inclusion as an “integral portion of the British Empire” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:627; 772-777). If a final attempt at civilization failed, there would be no self-government for the people of the North West and no voice in the local and federal legislature. Furthermore, there would be no commercial progress in the North West if total responsibility for the welfare of indigenous peoples “devolve[d] onto government [where] the Indian would be thrown on the humanity of the whites, or on the Public Treasury to maintain them ...”¹⁸⁷ (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426; 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921:317-9). While the discontent and ‘disorder’ among the Métis in the North West was to be met with state force, “no force [was] to be exercised on the Indians; this measure is intended to give them the opportunity of adapting themselves to the white system as much as possible. Some are every anxious to stand on an equality with, and have the same responsibilities and duties as the whites” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter answered the question of how the economy, state, and society emerged in the North West. It explains the ideological underpinnings of bourgeois ideas aimed at transforming existing economies, states, and societies according to a worldview of capitalism. The bourgeoisie have a specific strategy that starts with establishment of a constitutional parliamentary form of centralized government to ‘oversee’ the development of commercial infrastructure based on 1) implementation of the freehold system of land tenure as a means of subsistence and surplus production, 2) a division of (specialized) labour based

on agriculture and manufacturing, 3) ownership of the means of production as private property, 4) emigration of social classes of capital and labour to improve this property, and 5) the circulation of commodities characterized by the M-C-M circuit. Ideas regarding colonization of emigrant and indigenous peoples were observed to be integral to the transformation of the local economy by creating the capital and labour classes necessary for agricultural production in the North West. State collection of revenue from systematic settlement of British emigrants, taxation, and investment capital was designated to fund the commercial infrastructure being established for circulation of resources and commodities back and forth across the plains.

State executives also implemented fundamental, criminal, and civil laws and courts of justice to gain control of the land and ensure production and circulation through the protection of private property. Control was achieved largely through Treaties and Acts of legislation that removed indigenous peoples from the most fertile lands in the territories, and the creation of systems of law and order that prevented them from coming back. A bureaucracy was observed to administrate the *Indian Act, 1876*, Treaties, and land entitlements including the freehold and Scrip as private property in addition to the administration of emigration. Elements of distributive justice were also engaged in the form of industrial education, enfranchisement, and self-government to induce settlement and production. The structures of moral governance by clergy were also put in place to influence behaviour and create hegemony of Christian belief as the guiding principles of the new economy, state, and society. However, government settlement policies failed to bring the settlers to the North West. The relevance of government by party and the establishment of an organized public force as the means of coercing behaviour when ideas alone fail to induce consent will be discussed in my concluding chapter.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Discussion of the Findings, Conclusion, Contributions, and Limitations: The Implications of Ideology to Agricultural ‘Society’ in the North West

7.0 Introduction

The worldview of the bourgeoisie and the relevance of ideological forms of state, law, government, philosophy, and religion to capitalist development in the North West were described and explained in the previous analytical chapters. Chapter Four described the nature and type of the economy, state, and society that existed in Rupert’s Land between 1670 and 1870; Chapter Five explained the nature of the economy, state, and society envisioned by Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake between 1852 and 1885 according to a worldview of capitalism; and Chapter Six explained the relevance of ideology to the emergence of the new capitalist economy, state, and social order in the North West between 1867 and 1885. Specifically, the executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the centralized state were instrumental in gaining possession of Rupert’s Land and establishing capitalist economic structures that were to be legitimated by ideological forms of government, philosophy, and law in addition to religion to a lesser degree. The new arrangement was to be reproduced by emigrant and indigenous populations who were coerced to provide their capital and labour through colonization and assimilation or ‘civilizing’ processes. While Christianity was to play a significant role in inducing settlement and cultivation during this period, it has proven to be used as a coercive ideological form in the severance of tribal ties through religious and industrial education. Although ideological forms of government and law were equally coercive in this process, state (public) force was ultimately the means by which obedience and self-restraint among indigenous and emigrant populations was imposed. A final discussion will speak to my summary of the key findings wherein I propose the use of state force as an implication or consequence of ideological politics concerning economic, political, and social organization in the North West. This chapter will conclude with some final reflections on lessons learned in the course of this case study followed by the contributions and limitations of my thesis.

7.1 Summary of the Key Findings

This thesis describes the ideological underpinnings of a capitalist worldview as observed in the writings of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake in several contexts. It was found that industrial bourgeoisie allied with commercial and financial factions in Canada based in Montreal and Toronto,¹⁸⁸ including members of the BNAA and *The Merchants’ Express*, a commercial corporation comprised of high-ranking gentlemen, politicians, government appointees, merchants, industrials, Foreign Consuls to the Queen, and

“personal friends” of Macdonald’s (Canada, 1868:373-6; 1874b:112-3; 1880:116). Tory and Liberal political parties are observed to represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in Canada between 1856 and 1885, juxtaposed against the producing classes without representation who are forced to exchange their labour-power and surpluses to buy consumer goods in this arrangement. As Teeple (1972) suggests, the producing classes in Canada evolved from landless wage-labouring ‘proletariat’ of Great Britain rooted in agriculture from England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as parts of Western Europe. The productive force in North America has come to be defined by these groups, however the original producing classes in Rupert’s Land and the North West are Indigenous peoples led by the Métis, and the French Canadian farmers whose lands were confiscated after Conquest (see Sweeney, 2006; Teeple, 1972; Wakefield, 1849).

It was also found that this alliance of commercial and industrial factions prevented regional industrial entrepreneurship by engaging the executive branch of the state and using it to create policies aimed at controlling the direction of economic development in Rupert’s Land and the North West. The fur trade economy and society in Rupert’s Land and the North West were organized around the economic principles of mercantilism between 1670 and 1870 as described in Chapter Four. While the Company established a bureaucratic form of state to oversee its operations within the trading area, indigenous societies retained their culture, customs, and tribal systems of governance in this arrangement. Although an informal system of ‘civilization’ and moral regulation based on Christianity, industry, and Christian ethics was introduced among indigenous populations to increase their productivity and engagement with the trade, cultural amalgamation was not the main objective during this period. These arrangements would be transformed by a capitalist system that required assimilation through agricultural settlement as its main objective, proposed for the territories circa 1852. Agricultural production in the North West was to be established as a political economy organized around economic principles that underscore the structures of capitalism. The main principles of a capitalist worldview of the economy were identified as possession of Rupert’s Land as private property, a division of (specialized) agricultural labour to cultivate it, and investment capital and/or money to provide the means of cultivation including farm equipment, and transportation and communication systems for production, manufacture, and circulation of the surpluses as commodities.

Executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the state were observed to be the means of establishing these economic structures in the North West, after which a central authority was proposed to oversee and control all elements of the social, legal, political, and cultural developments that followed as explained in Chapter Six. Discourses employed by leaders of government made repeated reference to the annexation of Rupert’s Land, and the colonization and civilization of emigrant and resident indigenous

populations. These themes were found to be interdependent in that the land was use-less without agricultural settlement as a means of cultivation, production of surplus commodities, and accumulation of state revenue through taxation in addition to investment capital needed to build commercial infrastructure. It was found that state executives and leaders of government (and official opposition) engaged various ideological forms to legitimate or justify the annexation of Rupert's Land, establish a central authority in the territories, and coerce emigration and agricultural settlement needed to reproduce the economy.

One of the main ideological forms engaged for this purpose was the *Law of Nations*. Representatives of the bourgeoisie in the state used its principles to guide interrelated processes of annexation, colonization, and civilization that were devised to shape consciousness in such a way as to 'perfect' the new social formation locally and in a global context. It was found that a union between Canada and England was proposed to help fulfill the conditions of sovereignty articulated in this treatise. By possessing the land and developing a capitalist economy in the North West, Canada would be able to procure its own necessities, conveniences, cultivation, and the ownership of private property as a means of happiness for the people. The establishment of British institutions of government, law, and justice in the North West would enable colonization through emigration and settlement based on the peaceful possession and enjoyment of property brought about by cultivation and improvements made by the labouring and capitalist classes. Christianity was the unifying element of British culture that would be disseminated among indigenous peoples as a means of their civilization toward enfranchisement, citizenship, and self-reliance from the use of the land and the creation of capital for the state. Moral regulation through Christian ethics and piety was to be imposed by prominent members of the community among labouring emigrant and indigenous populations as a way to induce productivity and self-restraint in the interest of internal order. Until such time as Canada could establish its own armed forces, the British Empire would provide a means of defense against external violence, including that coming from oppositional forces in the United States and the North West territories. Public force was used to restore local order in 1885 when the promise of material comforts, democracy, freedom, legal rights, and religion failed to legitimate the new economy, state, and society among emigrant and indigenous populations of the North West. Bourgeois ideology failed to shape consciousness and subjugate the Métis and/or prevent them from rising up against state policies devised to transform the fur trade, free trade, and all vestiges of tribal and mercantile society. The relevance of the two ideological parties to the 'failure of this experiment', as Macdonald called it, will be discussed in the following section.

7.2 The Implications of Government by Party (Politics) for Emigrant and Indigenous Peoples in the North West: A Few Contradictions

After the abolition of the Company the merchants including the Métis of Rupert's Land and the North West wanted control of their own affairs and local economy. Control of the local economy was also an explicit goal of state executives, where settlement of the territories was to be the means of preventing American annexation and accumulating wealth as outlined previously. According to Marx (1867), systematic colonization is the principle method used in British colonies to coerce economic dependence among the producing classes. Colonization is part of the process whereby the bourgeoisie achieve economic domination by compelling individual producers to give up their free conditions or 'natural state' of labour and work to increase the strength of the modern state and nation. A final question remains as to why the Canadian state resorted to military force in the North West when its predecessor did not have to. While the eastern polity and the Company were both pledged to extract resources from the territories to 'strengthen the Empire', a notable difference exists in the need for agricultural settlement of indigenous and European free traders in society with British emigrants as the means of protecting British interests in Rupert's Land, and strengthening Canada's economic position globally. This was to be achieved at all costs against the 'pervasive feeling of Americans that it was the inevitable destiny'¹⁸⁹ of that country [to] govern one whole continent, and that they will absorb the whole continent' (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24). As Macdonald states:

The opposition suggests that the great and good and wise men of that country would not attempt such a thing; but the educated classes do not govern there; it is the masses who govern – the many-headed monster. It is the practice to instil this idea into every child from his first Fourth of July celebration to the time he turns 21 and to work into the minds of the people that it is their destiny to be the biggest and greatest nation on earth. The same absorption as that of The Lone Star State of Texas would soon happen to us as an independent country (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 24).

The task for Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake thereafter was to foster a sense of patriotism based on citizenship and a sense of belonging in the new society in order to coerce cooperation with the economic, social, and political transformations taking place.

While the focus of this thesis is on the relevance of ideology as a system of ideas rooted in the material world to the emergence of a bourgeois social formation in the North West, political parties are observed to be ideological forms that arise to influence the way people think and act, and compel them to see the world according to capitalism. Ideology is observed as a mechanism of establishing and legitimizing - coercing support for and therefore reproducing - a worldview of capitalism and the structures that materialize as a result. While politicians are the means of dissemination of the ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs of their class, faction, and/or as individuals as is observed in this study, they

need the support of the people to implement their worldview. This is very important to consider given the elevated positions of Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake as the decision-makers and gate-keepers of society, and the consequences of their decisions concerning the territories for resident indigenous and emigrant populations alike. Without local government, representation, and a formal federal mechanism of opposition, state executives were free to implement their ideas about how the North West would be organized. Whereas they appeared to be united as representatives of the bourgeoisie in establishing the structural elements needed to legitimate and reproduce a capitalist worldview, their politics were irreconcilable and of great consequence to local society as I argue in the following sections.

de Vattel was explicit in outlining the principles of instituting a system of law, justice, and religion toward peaceful commerce of the nation. He was implicit in his instructions to select a form of authority and method of regulation 'appropriate' to the character of the nation. However, while the Métis were denied nationhood status, they were among many diverse groups in the territories excluded from the decision-making process. The principal objective of the central government under Macdonald was to get control of the land before the United States did, and to induce obedience and loyalty among emigrant and indigenous populations to the British Crown in Canada in exchange for certain 'knowledge'. This knowledge was based on industrial, agricultural, and Christian education in addition to English language, culture, and custom aimed at 'civilizing' the producing classes toward the 'peaceful' enjoyment (ownership) of property, enfranchisement, and self-government (Macdonald, 1867, in Adam, 1891:568). A constitutional (parliamentary) monarchy was established for the purpose of providing a necessary authority in furnishing the wants of the people of a diverse confederation, including assimilation and/or control of the people. Indigenous land entitlements were put under 'reservation' for this purpose by the state legislature to be administrated by bureaucracy as the means of coercing their settlement. While indigenous peoples would receive grants of land, they would have to successfully complete probationary periods of enfranchisement before rights of possession in the strictest sense of use were transferred. This process was further monitored by the police and courts where fines and imprisonment were imposed for imposters, those posing as enfranchised Indians to gain certain privileges. This was also true for emigrant peoples who had to complete probationary qualifications on their freeholds until such time as the property and the people - indigenous peoples predominantly in this case - of the new nation had been 'improved' and 'perfected' as productive and loyal citizens in society. The ideological nature of this experiment has already been discussed; while legislation and laws enacted in the territories were supposed to remove all legal distinctions, socio-cultural distinctions were created instead. As such there were three race-based social (class) distinctions in the North West: indigenous peoples in a permanent state of tutelage who would never have free and clear title to their land; non-indigenous peoples in a probationary

state of tutelage who would have nominal ‘free’ title to their land; and Métis peoples faced with the choice of assimilation in either case.

The politics that contributed to the failure of this exercise need further attention. While the *Law of Nations* focuses on the rights of sovereigns engaged in international commerce which involve annexation, conquest, and/or civilization and subjugation of the occupied nation, de Vattel is equally decisive in his articulation of human rights in this context. de Vattel is adamant that the introduction of eminent domain and private property must not be allowed to impinge upon the natural law of individuals: the right to subsist from the earth’s resources. While members of both civil society and the occupied nation are obligated to work together for the benefit of the state and nation, the state is obligated to provide for persons affected by occupation and the introduction of private property. In addition to provision of the conveniences and enjoyments of life including the right to own and enjoy property and a means of protecting and administering justice when this right is violated, the state must protect those who have been negatively affected by eminent domain with the necessities of life. All individuals hold this right from birth no matter who they are, where they are from, and/or whether or not they are subjects and citizens of the new state. As long as they are *contributing* members of the new society, they have certain natural rights. This is an observation that also needs further attention in the context of rights that are observed to devolve from a system of distributive justice based on productivity.

If the bourgeoisie are united by the desire for global capitalism, they are divided by their attitudes toward certain members of the producing classes. Although Conservative and Liberal factions envisioned a capitalist economy, state, and society in the North West, Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake did not have the same attitudes toward members of its producing classes. The establishment of a capitalist economy, state, and social order had various outcomes for diverse socio-cultural groups resident in the territories including European emigrants, French and English-speaking Métis, and indigenous band of the region. My observations of the discourses directed at indigenous peoples by the more ‘enlightened’ Liberal representatives of the bourgeoisie are quite startling. First of all, a government ‘by party’ system emerged in Canada in the latter part of the first session of Parliament as the means of organizing resident, emigrant, and indigenous populations of labour in such a ways as to better harness and/ or suppress their political power. The various ways that bourgeois political parties do this becomes apparent over time and by observing different Parliaments, campaigns, and elections for ideas concerning representation that create an illusion of choice between one or the other of only two parties engaged in the electoral process. State executives were observed to be focussed on specific segments of society in their politics: the Tories on the farmer during their control of the state, and the Liberals on labour when in opposition. When the Mackenzie government was in power however, emigrant farmers were their main concern, whereas the

working (man) then became the focus of the Tories. They also politicized the wealth of the nation over sectional interests where farmers, workers, and capitalists were expected to work together (Mackenzie, in Buckingham and Ross, 1969: 245). While farmers were seen as integral to the development of the economy in the North West, workers were believed to be ‘the true source’ of political power (Macdonald, 1881: 22-23).

However, while capitalist farmers, entrepreneurs, and investors were initially subsidized by the state in exchange for their political support¹⁹⁰, landless labour from Quebec, China, and the newly arrived ‘Greenhorns’ from Great Britain were expected to work hard for the new country, take wage cuts, and to ‘yield to anything that might affect government unfavourably in carrying out its work in the North West’ (Macdonald, January 30, 1885:5; 20). The producing classes had an obligation to toil, according to the *Law of Nations*; in Canada, this would occur in combination with workers from all over the world who were expected to act ‘as one man’ in ensuring the prosperity of the country in exchange for a ‘fair day’s wage’ (Macdonald, March 7, 1876: 493; January 30, 1885: 20). The labouring classes in all parts of the Dominion were expected to ‘submit’ to the policies of government in a spirit of ‘Christian resignation’, ‘Christian hope’, and ‘expectation’ (Macdonald, January 18, 1884: 23). Failing this, Macdonald proposed to establish several government agencies to “better solve the various problems which from time to time arise between capital and labour (1881: 20-2). He issued a Royal Commission on which the working classes - “not just amateurs, but real artisan tradesmen” - would be fully represented as commissioners for the purpose of “enquiring into and reporting on all questions arising out of the conflict between labour and capital” (Macdonald, 1881: 20-2). Trade and labour bureaus were also established to report on the subject of labour in relation to capital and inquire into such things as the hours of labour and the earnings of labouring men and women as the means of promoting their ‘material, social, intellectual and moral prosperity’ (Macdonald, 1881).

As Macdonald suggests, the ‘real’ difference between the Grits and Conservatives was with respect to their policies concerning quality of life for the working classes. As he states, the policy of his ‘new’ Liberal-Conservatives has been for the advancement of the material resources, intellectual development, and the social position of workingmen in Canada (Macdonald, 1881: 11). Macdonald proposed that the best means of promoting the comfort of the workingman and his family was to prevent ‘undue interference’ in the development of agricultural and manufacturing industries’ (Macdonald, March 7, 1876: 496; 1882: 19). However, Mackenzie and Blake aimed to suppress the political power of labour by outlawing trade unionism and organization and “[arrested] 24 printers on conspiracy charges on April 16, 1872” (Macdonald, 1881: 11). Macdonald continued to implement policy that advanced the position of workers through the organization of labour to “act in their own interest, and protect themselves from

any combinations of employers, labor, and capitalists in case they should become oppressors of the laboring classes” (Macdonald, 1881: 11). Although Mackenzie and Blake differed with Macdonald in the public sphere, they agreed on the importance of labour to production in the North West:

The Territories would be the “happy home of hundreds of thousands – to use the smallest figure – of “civilized men, of earnest, active, laboring men, working for themselves and their families, and making the country ... a populous and prosperous country” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881; see also Mackenzie, February 11, 1876: 18; Blake, January 30, 1885: 14).

The effect of politics on the gradual enfranchisement of workers and indigenous peoples was to reproduce the political system required for control of the economy (Macdonald, March 29, 1879: 757). It created the illusion of democracy while establishing the means of coercing political behaviour.

While Mackenzie and Blake allied with Macdonald concerning colonization and assimilation policies and practices aimed at harnessing labour power during their tenure in the early years of government, they blamed the Tories for the oppression of workers in later years. Workers and property owners were deemed freemen by Macdonald, however, Mackenzie argued that they were being “compelled to do the work of serfs for the scantiest means of subsistence ... and serve the State in the public armies and public works,” which coincidentally, Mackenzie established (1878: 9). Workers were said to be better represented by Liberal ideals of ‘labour done at an agreed upon price’ and ‘ownership of a home on soil he also owns as could be had in the North West through cultivation and improvements of farm land’ (Mackenzie, 1878). Mackenzie advocated hard work as the only means of “independence of thought and action in political [life]” (Mackenzie, 1878: 8). At the same time as he promoted labour as the road to economic freedom, he tried to prevent unemployed farmers and mechanics from seeking land in the western United States. To induce them to stay in Canada, settle in the North West, and support a system of state taxation, Mackenzie argued that the North West would provide the means of political freedom where “the days of monopolies are ended; the days of class legislation, when one class was set over another, are ended” (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 88). While railing against sectional interests he was organizing the working classes as taxpayers. He painted a picture of a nation where “we are all workingmen” who “all have to bear the burden of taxation.” While doing so he opposed privilege in the upper classes and any system that provided ‘a large revenue to several parties in the State [who lived] at the expense of the State and upon other people’s labor’ (Mackenzie, 1878: 25; April 13, 1883: 599).

Mackenzie and Blake established and/or proposed to establish structures to liberate the working (man) through work, which would eventually lead to enfranchisement: “The Liberal Party wrested the power away from the Church of England and opened the doors of the university to the workingman, and

the ability of the humblest son of the humblest working man to find his way” (Mackenzie, 1878: 29). Yet while Mackenzie and Blake politicized worker rights and freedoms, they limited economic access. However, Macdonald did not provide ‘workers’ with land either; to do this would create a shortage of specialized industrial labour. As earlier stated, Macdonald believed that “It is not every man can be or likes to be a farmer, and the man who is unwillingly made one will always be a failure (Macdonald, March 7, 1878: 492). This is important to consider again in the context of indigenous peoples who were being coerced to engage in agriculture through industrial education and training as a requirement of enfranchisement and self-determination.

7.2.1 The Politics of Equality: the Exclusion of ‘Good and Bad Indians’ from Capitalist Society in the North West

Mackenzie and Blake opposed Macdonald’s policies aimed at the enfranchisement of indigenous peoples from their tribal system because the Liberal franchise, rights, and responsibilities of citizenship were ‘white’ privileges that had to be earned through citizenship and contributions to society (see Blake, May 26, 1885: 2110). Blake vehemently opposed giving the vote to the majority of residents in a state of tutelage who would thereafter control a minority of ‘free’ men: “How are these men to decide for us the political government of the country, what our rights are to be, and the due and proper course of a free man, when they are not free men themselves?” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2107). The vote was considered a sacred right that could not be ‘given’ to indigenous wards ‘along with money, assistance, blankets, food, and something to cultivate [the] land with as reasonable requests for pauper relief to secure his independent vote’ (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2107). Blake accused Macdonald of another kind of influence in addition to the patronage among capitalists which Mackenzie ‘exposed’ in 1872: “You shall have the vote if you have a location ticket. You shall get a location ticket if you are a good Indian, and if you are a bad Indian, you won’t get a ticket” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2109). Various discourses were observed to outline what constituted ‘good and bad Indians’. For example, ‘good Indians’ assimilated, as members of bands in the older colonies of eastern Canada and British Columbia did including the Mohawk and Coast Salish ‘who without a drop of white blood had all the accomplishments of white [people]’ (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1101; see also Blake, May 3, 1880: 1942). ‘Good Indians’ like the Shawnee¹⁹¹ and Blackfoot, were patriotic and productive citizens, and were therefore rewarded for their contributions to society, as this communication between Chief Crowfoot and Macdonald suggests:

We are agreed and determined to remain loyal to the Queen. Our young men will go to work on their reserve, and will raise all the crops we can, and we hope the Government will help us to sell what we cannot use (Chief Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet tribe, to Macdonald, Blackfoot Crossing, 11 April 1885, in Pope, 1921: 343).

We will help you sell what you cannot use of your crop, and shall never forget the good conduct of yourself, your minor chiefs and warriors” (Macdonald to Chief Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfoot tribe, Ottawa, 14 April 1885, in Pope, 1921: 344).

On the other hand, ‘bad Indians’ refused to settle on reserves (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2105). Even when settled, Blake believed that the “tribal Indian living on reserve even with separate holding is not a capable citizen; he is managed and controlled, his reserved is husbanded, he is assisted in selecting a chief” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106). It was his attitude that “they are not in a word, fit to vote” given their ‘lack of civilization’ from the “innumerable generations they lived, as hunters principally, a nomad life, and they had their own civilisation (sic), their own rules, their own notions of manly virtues, their own vices and faults, and we came here and we added some of our vices to them (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106). Furthermore that, “enfranchisement is not going to help the Indians; it is going to add another element to his degradation, and to degrade the whites along with him ... you have no right to give him the crowning badge, the flower of freedom – the vote” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106). Mackenzie argued that the principle duty of government was to oversee Indian affairs, collect taxes for public works, and above all, to provide for law and order¹⁹² as a condition of settlement. He believed that obedience should be the object of law rather than citizenship and civilization (Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 657; April 1, 1875: 1034). Mackenzie politicized the view that an entirely independent legislative body established in the territories would protect settlers and their property from ‘further harm of Indian uprising’ (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 653). Further, that a firm local government in the centre of the territories within several hundred miles west of the present port of authority would counter the troubles at Red River and improve the present system of emigration.¹⁹³ He proposed the seat at Fort Pelly¹⁹⁴, a location “of convenience in proximity to the South Saskatchewan River and within reach of the telegraph system being installed” (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 654). He believed this was the most favourable location for a considerable town in an agricultural district with abundant fuel and timber, and with easy access from military different posts established by the Company previously.

While Aboriginal peoples were excluded from decision-making processes concerning development in the North West, the local press had an important role to play:

P.G. Laurie was challenged anew by the effects a newspaper could have on settlement in the west. He was well aware of the path that Laird was taking in bringing law and order to the Territories, help to the settlers, protection to the buffalo and a better life for the nomad Indian bands. To Laurie, the future was very bright. He saw Laird¹⁹⁵ as the head of government, the law maker and provider, and his paper, the *Saskatchewan Herald*, as the mouthpiece (Loscombe, 1986: 20).

As troubles in the North West escalated, so did the political current in the press:

The non-treaty Indian has been liberally supplied with provisions and other necessities, and thus enabled to spend all his time in travelling up and down the land, plotting mischief and preparing for this season's carnival of ruin. The petted Indians have proved the bad ones, and this gives weight to the old adage, that the only good Indians are the dead ones (Editor, *The Mail*, in Macdonald, May 21, 1885: 2041).

State executives were thereafter justified and supported in making provisions for a popular government, electoral districts¹⁹⁶, and a legislative assembly¹⁹⁷ “exclusive of aliens and ‘unenfranchised Indians’” (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 655-9).

7.2.2 The Politics of Liberty: the Exclusion of ‘Aliens and Indians’ from Capitalist Society in the North West

Macdonald (1881:20) recognized the advantages of ‘great trade relations’ to be secured from having specialized Chinese labourers who were skilled in railway construction and mining help with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and extraction of North West mineral resources (Macdonald, Memorandum to Henry Labouchere, 14 August, 1857, in Ottawa, 1968:444-452). He encouraged their temporary emigration to enable rapid completion of the railway mainline and revenue-producing services, but wanted to study their assimilation and migration patterns before proposing a policy regarding permanent settlement (Macdonald, April 16, 1879: 1260; 1881: 10-19). Liberal leaders were in opposition and especially vocal in ‘echoing the concerns of constituents’ over permanent settlement of Chinese workers in the major centers of British Columbia. Blake believed that if the business at hand was to build the railroad with emigrant capital and labour settled in the North West, then it did not make sense to employ Chinese workers on the project because they came in with no intention of contributing to ‘white’ society. While officials disagreed on a policy toward migrant Chinese workers, state officials were unanimous that Chinese populations should be excluded from the first wave of settlement in the North West based on experiences in the Vancouver Island Colony. As Blake suggests, Chinese workers would never ‘stay put’ in the North West¹⁹⁸, and they would refuse to assimilate to British culture once settled in the coastal mainland:

They refuse to cut off their pigtails, they refuse to [be taxed], and they refuse to allow any discriminating provision that would prevent them from working on the public works of the country. My hon. friend will not work, his friends over there will not work, and the Pacific Railway Contractor has to let the Chinese in; for they are coming in I say that the peaceful progress of British Columbia would be much more encouraged by a wholesale immigration of characters [other than Chinese] when two steamers come together in the harbour of Victoria, with two and three thousand Chinese on board” (Blake, April 18, 1882: 970; when asked ‘How many Chinese?, he replied “Five thousand too many.”).

However, if Canada adopted a “distinctly hostile policy it might be the means of killing future business relations with that country” (Macdonald, 1881: 20). The doors to California were still open to Chinese labourers, agents, and merchants to do the dangerous work of blasting and laying railway ties through the treacherous High Sierras in preparation for western settlement in the United States (Macdonald, 1881: 20). While Mackenzie sympathized with those living in proximity of the ‘unpleasantness of the neighborhood of a great mass of Chinese,’ he believed a policy of outright exclusion would be abused in the ‘worst possible manner’ (April 16, 1879: 1262). He argued that to avow the principle that “some classes of the human family were not fit to be residents in this Dominion would be dangerous and contrary to the law of nations and the policy which controlled Canada”¹⁹⁹ (Mackenzie, April 16, 1879: 1262). While he did not support Chinese emigration, he would not support any measures to exclude or expel Chinese workers from the country (Mackenzie, April 16, 1879: 1262). To do so would be to “give up all they held sacred as to the rights of man in their own as in other countries” (Mackenzie, April 16, 1879: 1262). It is very important to keep these philosophies in mind when considering his views on the place of indigenous peoples in the new economy, state, and society.

Mackenzie was of the view that ‘The Indian Question’ was “a very serious one” (Mackenzie, February 22, 1876: 197). He was concerned that after the land was dispersed as “a condition on which obtaining possession of the Territory was based,” there would be nothing left for emigrants: the land divisions set aside for settlement were “totally unfit”²⁰⁰ (Mackenzie, May 7, 1870: 1416; May 9, 1870: 1491; April 6, 1879: 901-2). The focus of Mackenzie and Blake was on law, order, and justice²⁰¹ (Mackenzie, May 11, 1870: 1564). Order, in this case, meant the establishment of a Temperance colony with province over what remained of Rupert’s Land to be organized as a Crown Colony with allocations for Irish emigration (see Mackenzie, April 11, 1882: 801 regarding Temperance in the North West; see Blake, March 20, 1882: 1034 concerning the use of the North West to settle the Irish Question). However, Macdonald’s ‘social policy’ concerning indigenous settlement of the territory for the purposes of enfranchisement and self-government was seen as a barrier to their ideas on two counts: in the first place, settlement required land and secondly, once enfranchised, indigenous peoples would be more likely to support the Conservatives with their vote on territorial matters:

Macdonald feels that the tribal system holds the Indian back because it does not entitle him with rights, privileges and responsibilities for citizenship, and bent himself every which way to get rid of it. He hopes to educate him to farming ... and to get them to adopt a municipal system of government and a system of enfranchisement to prepare for amalgamation with the white population of the country, and now, when these things are still unaccomplished, he proposes to make him one of the white population of the county at once and in its most distinctive badge, the badge of the franchise (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2110).

It was Blake's impression that indigenous peoples had not earned the right to vote:

We object to the proposal to give tribal Indians the vote not for want of sympathy for the Indian. On the contrary, we have sympathized in time past, and in spite of tragic events of the past few weeks we, too, to-day, sympathise – who but can sympathise?- with the nature and condition of these, if not original, at any rate immemorial, owners of the soil upon which our ancestors intruded. But sympathy is not the ground on which the franchise is to be extended. They must be capable citizens, proper to be entrusted with the franchise (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2105).

He argued that indigenous peoples were 'far' from civilized:

They boiled the seed potatoes, cooked the seed grain, ate the oxen for the plough, and the cows intended for milk and breeding ... two sons had deliberately murdered their aged mother. It appeared from incontestable testimony that these unfortunate heathen Indians had nourished for generations the belief that an aged woman, such as she was, approaching the period of death, under certain circumstances became possessed of supernatural but maleficent powers, and could and would, unless slaughtered, be the death, not merely of her family, but also of large numbers of the tribe to which she belonged. It was the duty of these two sons to put an end to their mother, a 'religious duty' incumbent upon them by their laws, rites, ceremonies, and ancient, ingrained habit, customs, and religion so called. These are the class that was going to get the franchise. I can say we can sympathise (sic) with these people, we can bear with them, we can tolerate many things –without at all agreeing that they are capable citizens, proper to be entrusted with the franchise (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106).

Furthermore:

We gave them the appetite and the means of drink, and we gave them painful and loathsome diseases, and our efforts to civilize them through local agents, school teachers, missionaries, priests, and white settled people, have been very largely, no doubt, a failure. They revert to their 'wild life'. You cannot hope to eliminate that wild strain in the blood of the Indian in any brief space, the longings for tribal life, and the free life of the Indian. If our efforts have done so little, what is the giving of a vote going to do more? (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2106).

Blake was not optimistic that indigenous 'civilization' would occur any time soon and/or ever through the system that Macdonald had proposed:

What is the better system of Government among the Indians? A simple form of municipal government. But it was found that the Indians were not sufficiently advanced in intelligence for such change. ...There has been some pleasing statement for the demand for agricultural implements and the formation of agricultural societies. If there is progress it is very gradual; it is the same old rule, the same old rut. It is a process of natural selection by which you can get an Indian to rise up to the condition of a white artisan or husbandman (May 26, 1885: 2009-12).

While Macdonald argued that the children were the cause of reversals in the civilizing process of indigenous adults, who needed instruction in the physical work of agriculture, the moral work of Christianity, and the legal work of rights and property, Blake was of the mind that "if you are going to elevate the young Indian on par to the standard of his white brother, you must disassociate him from the

prejudicial influences of the surrounding band” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2108). He felt that the cost of maintaining indigenous children in industrial schools until age twenty in some cases was ‘extraordinarily’ high at one hundred and fifty dollars per child. Blake felt it was “quite obvious, from their station in life, that it would be not a kindness, but a cruelty to provide for these children for other than the simplest manner, both as to food and clothing (May 22, 1883: 1376). Furthermore, “if this interesting experiment is to succeed at all, you will, unless these Indian bucks are to be veritable bachelors all their lives, have to civilize the intended wives as well as the husbands (Blake, May 22, 1883: 1376). According to Blake, “[leaving] the young Indian girl who is to mature into a squaw to have the uncivilized habits of the tribe, the Indian when he marries such a squaw, will likely be pulled into Indian savagery by her” (May 22, 1883, p. 1376). Blake had very specific ideas for assimilation:

First of all, drop the father and drop the mother; they are too old dogs to learn to dance, you can do nothing with them. Secondly, take the child away from home, because, not doing anything themselves, they will hurt the child if you leave it under their control. Thirdly, take the child to a day school ... select the brightest and most promising pupils out of the children ... and establish a school for the higher education of the Indian youth ... and train them in industrial pursuits, where away from tribal and parental influences, they will rise on the social scale to an equality with the white artisan and husbandman. If that is necessary for the ordinary voter, how much below that condition of equality is the adult Indian, the tribal Indian on the reserve, without all this process of weaning away, education, and selection (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2112).

7.2.3 The Politics of Fraternity: the Maintenance of Peaceful Commerce with Force

Recall that the *Law of Nations* outlines another obligation of government in establishing a just system of laws to protect the order of the state against insult or violence. While civilization of indigenous peoples was viewed as a necessarily slow process regardless of whether enfranchisement was involved or not, established and affluent mixed-farming and mining communities including those in and near Calgary were petitioning for the enforcement of law and order in the North West. As Mackenzie states:

The Government had ascertained, from the most authentic source, that within the last eighteen months there were very nearly 150 murders committed in the North-West territories, and no person had been brought to trial. No doubt those were mostly slain in Indian fights with traders from Missouri and Montana, of a most reckless character, who introduced the vilest passions of human nature into the territories and slaughtered the poor people with their improved fire-arms and dealing death and destruction by their vile intoxicating liquors²⁰² (Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 657).

Instead of tutelage on land reservations in *Mackenzie’s* new province, the protection of colonial property and a peaceful means of commerce would be ensured through prohibition backed by force²⁰³. Mackenzie was of the view that “rebellion could be avoided if government paid reasonable deference to the wishes of the people,” who, according to Blake’s discourse, were white (see Mackenzie, May 2, 1870; see Blake,

1885: 2106). The formation of a national police force and strengthening of the department of defence and militia that was established in 1868 was politicized as necessary to prevent “loss of many valuables lives and lead the people to think less favorably of the Dominion” (Mackenzie, May 2, 1870). Mackenzie established a military college at Kingston modelled after West Point in the United States, commenced national training of officers for the instruction of volunteer cadets as a way to increase the public force and defend the nation from further hostility, and organized the first standing army battalions in Ontario and Quebec (Mackenzie, April 23, 1867: 542). Unlike Macdonald, Mackenzie was not concerned about aggression or hostility from the people of the United States, who “were not as a nation, aggressive toward Britain or her Colonies, even the Irish settlers;” they were a “kindred people, speaking the same language and having the same religion” (Mackenzie, April 23, 1867: 542). Rather, Mackenzie was adamant that threats came from ‘murderers like Riel’ and other “men of his stamp, ready to stir up another row should opportunity offer” (1872, Peterboro Rally meeting, in Buckingham and Ross, 1892:273).

Mackenzie was also adamant that those behind the formation of Manitoba and the murder of Thomas Scott should be punished as a deterrent to restore order peremptorily “else Canada cease to be a nation”²⁰⁴ (Mackenzie, May 11, 1870: 1564). While law and order was being politicized as necessary to the protection of emigrants and settlers and their property *from* indigenous peoples in the North West, Mackenzie assured indigenous peoples of the state’s “thorough and efficient protection of them, and the justice and liberality of the Canadian and British authorities” (Mackenzie, February 11, 1876: 18). At the same time, he conveyed “the very greatest importance that the British authority should be formally recognized and established among all the tribes of that country” (Mackenzie, February 11, 1876: 18). Both Mackenzie and Macdonald believed that *a show of force* was the only way to prevent an ‘Indian’ war and the prohibitive effect that uprising would have on immigration and settlement: “one thing is certain, that this would prevent or postpone for many years the immigration we hope shortly to draw into that country” (Macdonald, February 10, 1882: 16). Mackenzie vowed to set ‘party principles’ aside in order to assert the state’s power and force and “send five, ten, twenty thousand men if necessary, but order should be restored”²⁰⁵ (Mackenzie, May 11, 1870: 1564). Thereafter, the Legislature of Ontario under Blake issued a proclamation offering a reward for \$5,000 for Riel’s capture, which according to Macdonald, only escalated the conflict and set ‘race against race, and Frenchman against Englishman’. As Macdonald states, “the prairie was on fire, and immediately the Métis arose as one man” against the threat of state (military) force (February 11, 1875: 77-8).

While the state is obligated to provide a means of protection and defense and be prepared to use it, the over-arching goal must be the establishment of a peaceful means of international commerce according to the *Law of Nations*. Attempts to maintain peace between indigenous and emigrant peoples through

Treaty-making was observed in this regard, but by 1885, the state was preoccupied with coercion and force as seen in state policies from Dewdney's policy of 'sheer compulsion' for a 'couple of months' in 1884 (Tobias, 1999:222) to the 'Chinese Head Tax' implemented in 1885. Whereas early policies including the *Gradual Civilisation Act* were oriented toward inducements and individual cooperation between the state and members of the indigenous community, by 1885 the ethnocentrism of state officials – Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake - was obvious:

We have had a wonderful success; but still we have the Indians; and then in these half-breeds, enticed by white men, the savage instinct was awakened; the desire of plunder – aye, and, perhaps, the desire of scalping – the savage idea of warlike glory, which pervades the breast of most men, civilised or uncivilised, was aroused in them, forgetting all the gifts that had been given to them, forgetting all that the Government, the white people and the Parliament of Canada had been doing for them, in trying to rescue them from barbarity; forgetting that we had given them reserves, the means to cultivate those reserves, and the means of education how to cultivate them – forgetting all these things, they rose against us. ...We are not responsible for that; we cannot change the barbarian, the savage, into a civilised man. Look at the United States; consider the millions that they have expended defending their frontier ... it is an inglorious war; and there has been a great loss of life; but Americans do not take the part of the rebel and the traitor; that is reserved for the leader of the Opposition (Macdonald, July 6, 1885: 3119).

According to Macdonald, the 1885 uprising was the work of the land jobbers and speculators who agitated among the Métis for their Scrip, and convinced them to align with Riel and Dumont against the Tories. As he states, "the outbreak in the North-West did not originate with the Indians proper, but with the half-breeds, and with the white rebels, disloyal men. We can easily manage the Indians, but we cannot so easily manage the 'white Indians'" (Macdonald, July 16, 1885: 3427). While Canada 'had seen treachery and war of international consequence' during the Rebecca Riots, he saw this as a "mere domestic trouble, [that] ought not to be elevated to the rank of a rebellion" (Macdonald, to GG Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 29 August 1885, in Pope, 1921: 355).

Macdonald believed that the 1885 uprising was of 'no real international consequence or threat to the safety of the state' (Macdonald, in Pope, 1921: 356-7). It was "a rising within a limited area, and was confined to a small number of persons. It was an "outbreak, no doubt confined to our own territory and may therefore properly be described as a domestic trouble, but I am afraid we have all of us been doing what we could to elevate it to the rank of a rebellion, and with so much success that we cannot now reduce it to the rank of a common riot" (Macdonald, to GG Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 3 September 1885, in Pope, 1921:356-7). While troops were sent to the North West to restore order that was disrupted by Métis uprisings in 1870 and again in 1885, they were also being sent to help "the victims of Irish discontent and American hostility, caused entirely by our being a portion of the Empire, [to] keep our country, if we can, for the Queen against all comers" (Macdonald, to Earl of Carnarvon, Ottawa, 14 April 1870, in Pope,

1921:132-4). The fact that social pressure from below was the catalyst for changing attitudes of officials is interesting.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

It is important to restate de Vattel's principle: that if a nation is silent it is seen as being in agreement with those in control of their affairs (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:73). I suggest that silence is a consequence of ideology and the institutions designed to shape our consciousness so as to limit knowledge and free will. Without local government and federal representation, emigrant and indigenous peoples had no voice or say in matters relating to the abolition of the fur trade, free trade, and/or the amalgamation of various tribal systems, and indigenous cultures and societies resident in the territories. The people were not consulted as to the alliances taking place or the framing of domestic and foreign economic policy. Local discord was fuelled by the absence of an official opposition during the foundational years of capitalist development, lack of responsible government in the following years, and the withholding of information from Parliament in the years leading up to the 1885 resistance. I find it very interesting that there was no dissent or local uprising when Mackenzie and Blake were at the helm of the central state and official opposition. As Riel suggested at his trial, "given the opportunity to defend himself, he would show that the troubles in the North-West would fall heavily on the Honourable Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie, who created obstacles to thwart Macdonald's political vision of Confederation" (Riel to Macdonald, Regina, 16 July, 1885, in Pope, 1921:348-350). All he wanted to do, he said, was to help the Liberal party carry out Mackenzie's 1874 resolution of forming a new Irish province west of Manitoba, where after he would build up a homogeneous French Catholic province in the North West, a sister province for the people of Quebec (Riel, Letter to President Ulysses S. Grant, Late 1875, Louis Riel's Letter to President Grant, Documents of Western History, Saskatchewan History, 71-2). Instead, he laments, Mackenzie and Blake made him an outlaw²⁰⁶. While this is telling, the focus of this discussion is on the reasons why Mackenzie and Blake differed from Macdonald in their attitudes toward indigenous and emigrant peoples in the North West, as reflected in their policies and politics concerning enfranchisement and the implications of this to history and the social location of indigenous and emigrant peoples alike.

My findings show that while Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake all held a capitalist worldview²⁰⁷, their views about the producing classes were not uniform. Specifically, state executives envisioned a capitalist economy organized around the production of agricultural commodities in the North West including natural resources, agricultural products, manufactures. The system of ideas, values, attitudes, and beliefs that comprise this worldview of the economy are ideological in that they are aimed at

influencing the way that emigrant and indigenous peoples come to see the world and make sense of it in order to more effectively influence and increase agricultural production. While the state acquiesced to local demands in the 1869-70 resistance, after Canada gained possession of Rupert's Land, state executives developed colonization and civilization policies to compel settlement as the means of cultivation and subsistence. The structures of a political (capitalist) economy began to emerge in the North West after proprietorship of the land was transferred by the Imperial parliament from the Company to the Canadian state. Small-holding farmers and large scale agriculturalists and farm colonies were poised to occupy the land and improve it as private property, and the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie were in place as owners of the means of its cultivation, production, and circulation and exchange.

Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake worked together up to this point albeit often at loggerheads over national versus municipal policies, where after the missing piece was the producer whose industry was needed to cultivate and improve the land and its resources. Two sources of capital and labour were identified and targeted for settlement in the idle but productive populations in Britain and indigenous peoples of the territories who were compelled to settle and take up agriculture in the North West. This is where factional politics stonewalled the transformation process. Whereas Macdonald tried to induce indigenous settlement through gradual civilizing processes based on a system of distributive justice, Mackenzie and Blake refused to let indigenous peoples participate in the new political society. Enfranchisement, self government, and responsible government were considered 'Liberal domain', used as political tools of coercion in gaining the political support of white labour; as its proponents, Mackenzie and Blake were adamant that the future of the North West - and Canada - would not be decided by uncivilized 'wards' of the state (Mackenzie, 1878: 29).

While this study focuses on the relevance of ideology to the emergence of a capitalist formation in the North West, ideology is also observed to be engaged to induce conformity to capitalist production on a universal scale. In choosing a 'liberal' system of government for Canada, the parliamentary monarchist form was seen as more democratic than a unitary state but also more traditional and 'British'. Based on events of 1776 in the United States, it was furthermore regarded as the most *stable* in protecting the British Empire and its economic domain. Participation in free society under the British Crown through familiar constitutional institutions and a "wise, tempered, discreet, honourable, patriotic, and prudent" monarch was viewed as the best way to induce idle European populations to come to the North West, where they could 'improve' their social and political positions as British subjects united in Confederation (Macdonald, 1879:21; 1884: 9). The qualities of the new nation – the "high and patriotic objects" of peace, security, prosperity, spirit of moderation and wisdom - would thereafter reproduce capitalism, the British Empire,

and the bourgeoisie on a global scale (see Macdonald, 1867: 60). However, the granting of ‘free’ land and the promise of ‘free’ (British) institutions in the New World failed to induce conformity in the North West; ideology was not completely effective among the Métis and oppositional emigrant population who wanted control of the accumulation and circulation of local commodities as the basis of free commercial exchange. State executives thereafter engaged the executive, legislative, and juridical branches of the state to legitimate a central (parliamentary) authority in North West. A centralized state enabled executive government of the economy, which was justified through the provision of law and order and the organization of a national police force and standing army in defense of private property against internal threats and disorder. Foremost among these threats were the ‘savage Indians’ who required civilization. Law and Christian ethics were engaged to compel self-regulation and conformity toward subsistence, obedience, and restraint as the means of reproducing the relations of production and inevitably, hegemony of a capitalist worldview. When all ideological policies and politics failed, force was seen as necessary to clear the way for progress.

While economic dominance in the North West and around the world is observed to be the goal of industrial factions of the bourgeoisie in this study, this thesis also suggests that ideology is not functionally all embracing and/or unifying among either the ruling *or* producing classes. For instance, while Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake were allied as a historic polity or bloc, they were divided by ideas including dispensation of the franchise. While the bourgeoisie aim to construct the world in its own image, their project in the North West was stalled and almost revolutionized by factional politics. While it was thought that all emigrants either embraced or could be easily induced to support and internalize a worldview of capitalism that depended upon British institutions of class domination, there was no reason for indigenous peoples to do so. This is especially so for Métis leaders who had their own views about the way the North West should be organized. Thereafter state executives had to resort to force to complete the transformation process, and this has had severe consequences for indigenous peoples and indigenous-settler relations in both historical and contemporary contexts ever since. Although the actions of indigenous and emigrant producers have historically been governed by the same Treaty system, indigenous peoples appear to be more aware of its oppressive nature. As Asinimanido (March 4, 2010), a lawyer, graduate student, and citizen of the Ojibwe nation says: “Canada’s aboriginal (sic) peoples are sovereign regardless of the view of the Canadian government. As far as the tax dollars of Canadian citizens are concerned, they can keep it. Aboriginal peoples want their fair share of the trillions of dollars of resources that are being extracted from our sovereign territories.” However, while the actions of indigenous leaders toward indigenous sovereignty will give indigenous peoples more control over the

lands within their boundaries, the boundaries continue to exist, and they are equally oppressive for emigrants.

Whereas the focus of colonization was on legal coercion, religion in the form of Christian ethics had an important role to play in the civilization of emigrant and indigenous peoples and in inducing them to embrace and thereby reproduce capitalist society. This is also interesting: Lipset's (1971: 177-236) observations of the relevance of Christianity to the socialist movement in Saskatchewan circa 1930 speak to the effectiveness of religion and religious ties that outweigh class cleavages when used as an element of cultural leadership. However, Lipset notes that Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Methodist-Presbyterian churches declare that the capitalist system is opposed to Christianity and Liberal Christian belief (1971: 171). Yet self-declared Protestant heads of government regularly appealed to Christian ethics, values, and beliefs in social justice as the means of transforming capitalist society in the North West. Their calls for mass support for the annexation of Rupert's Land were framed in the best interest of Christian piety, hope, and expectation. 'Good' Christians were expected to submit to economic policies, Temperance, and hard work, and to obey and pay their taxes voluntarily as a matter of Christian resignation. The use of state revenue to assimilate indigenous peoples in Christian fellowship was internalized as necessary to their progress and civilization as a society. It became the 'duty' of civil Christian communities to embrace their fellow man and accept humanitarian responsibilities. Conversely, pious Christian soldiers were expected to eliminate all threats to the economy, state, and Christian society posed by uncivilized 'heathens' in 1870 and again in 1885, where after they would be rewarded for their contributions in heaven (Macdonald, May 21, 1885: 2041-2).

The implications of ideology for what could have been a cooperative agricultural society in the North West is that emigrant populations have continued to see indigenous peoples as a threat and an 'enemy' and *be* seen in much the same way: as responsible and/or at least complicit in failed assimilation, cultural amalgamation, and/or genocidal policies and politics of their representatives. Post-colonial relations seem to be deteriorating faster than they are improving even after state apologies, land entitlements, and residential school settlements estimated to be in the billions²⁰⁸. While these comprehensive settlements are intended to address the harm caused by residential schools, the state - in concert with indigenous government and the legal profession - has decided what is 'full and fair' compensation in agreement with the Assembly of First Nations. While social justice has prevailed or appears to prevail for these wrongs and the harm done to indigenous peoples at the hands of the Catholic and Anglican Churches, the oppressive legal structures and distinctions that enabled these injustices remain for indigenous and emigrant peoples alike. In the final analysis, the use of law to enable truth and reconciliation further legitimizes the rule of English common law as the crucible of religion for two of the

three Christian denominations opposed to capitalism. As Lipset (1971: 171) suggests, “if the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and United Churches are right, then those who are fighting Capitalism’s battle are fighting against Religion and Christianity.”

As Macdonald suggested to Parliament over a hundred years ago, “the country is always looking, the people always looking to find someone to punish in the case of a great reverse” (May 21, 1885: 2041). Canada is a prime example of this as we consistently blame our vulnerable populations for the problems taking place on another level. The problem is ideology and the fact that we cannot see through the politics that aim to divide and separate us, and tear our society apart. While states, governments, and the people are kept busy trying to overcome this conflict, the bourgeoisie are free to engage new territories, economies, states, and societies necessary to the reproduction of the conditions of capitalism and the ideological institutions that comprise their worldview. The unemployed, working-poor, disenfranchised, and alienated members of society must embrace similarities rather than focus on differences as the means of overcoming historical abuses and preventing them from occurring in the future²⁰⁹. Rather than transform, assimilate, and/or annihilate local societies based on unique cultures and established law and order in the pursuit of global wealth, core states must seek out a common ground on which to engage in commerce that Chitty and Twiss assert is impossible to find. I disagree. All societies have a vested interest in finding a means of peaceful intercourse that is non-adversarial or based on conflict which de Vattel invested in the inter-national Treaty. That the people can be unified as a socio-political force to this end is seen in a final address concerning Riel. ‘The people’ engaged the state in civil protest in 1885 to demand his execution as a ‘traitor’. While their purpose was vile, the engagement is evidence of social power in checking the actions of the state, and therefore the bourgeoisie, and ultimately in shaping and constructing cooperative society as Marx and Engels have always proposed. As Macdonald suggests, the people shape the action of the state:

It would not do to hurry the execution as it were – in order to prevent such appeal ... if it were suspected that there was a prearranged intention of postponing the execution of the sentence, there would, I fear, be a popular burst of indignation in Ontario and the Northwest, that may as well be avoided (Macdonald, to Governor General Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 3 September 1885, in Pope, 1921:357-8 in response to Landsdowne’s letter of 31 August 1885, wherein the Governor General states that the matter should take its legal course without intervention of Government and asks “could we hang him before that tribunal had disposed of this application?” in Pope:1921:356-7).

7.4 Contributions and Limitations of the Research

This thesis represents the utility of Marxist theory in addressing the problem of ideology in a historical context. It is based on original research and yields new insight as to the problem of ideology in

the establishment, legitimization, and reproduction of capitalist social formation in the North West. While this thesis is based on a rich data set of primary data on the emergence of capitalist formations in Rupert's Land and the North West, my presentation is limited to an explanation of the ideological underpinnings of the prevailing worldview from the perspective of bourgeois factions struggling for power. It does not account for counter-ideology and opposing worldviews beyond brief examples to support my argument that ideology is not functionally all-embracing among class factions of the bourgeoisie; that while commercial, financial, and industrial factions align as a historical block to transform local societies according to a capitalist worldview, they compete for control of the state to implement their own ideas about socio-economic organization, forgoing all previous alliances to further their own interests. The implication of this is that even though the worldview of the petit-bourgeois Métis polity was observed to be ideological, there is little room to address this in the confines of a Master's Thesis. I am unable to explain the nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned by indigenous leaders in the North West and/or address the reasons why the worldview of the eastern polity prevailed. However, this will be addressed in future research and publication.

There are further limitations in the selection and inclusion of referents in this research. There are several prominent political figures from eastern Canada that could be included in a study of this nature including George Étienne Cartier who was Macdonald's partner in the liberal-conservative alliance, and George Brown, who joined this alliance to bring the Maritime colonies into Confederation. Like Macdonald, Brown promoted acquisition of the western territory. While Brown ran for a federal seat and could be considered the 'unofficial' leader of the federal Liberal Party until 1873, he never won a federal seat and did not act in any official capacity within the state. While Marx accounts for 'intellectuals' like Brown who develop ideas aimed at reproducing the interests of the bourgeoisie including free trade and strong central government, it is impossible to do a complete analysis of the discourses of everyone involved from the east or western regions.

I attempt to overcome this limitation by reviewing several sources of data for representatives of the ruling commercial classes situated within the state for evidence of ideological discourses aimed at inducing behaviour toward the establishment, legitimization, and reproduction of a capitalist economy and relations in the North West. This research borrows from the 'triangulation' technique used in quantitative research by looking for convergent themes from multiple and different sources of information including political speeches, debates, letters, personal memoirs. Validity in qualitative research such as this can be stressed through rigorous attention to the themes that arise compared to the literature in terms of what has been found before. As the Marxist literature suggests, the bourgeoisie use government institutions to entrench their worldview by producing and disseminating discourses aimed at controlling individual

behaviour, including the portrayal of opposing worldviews (such as socialism) in a negative light (Macdonell, 1986:112)²¹⁰.

However, a further issue arises in terms of validity of the documents as a measure or indicator of ideology. For example, I have included data collected in the year 1875 that is discussing events surrounding Confederation. There are more suitable substantive data sources that could have been used in this study including the John A. Macdonald fonds which is a collection of 270,000 pages that speak to Macdonald's role in the economic and socio-political organization of Canada. Following Hoepfl (1997), the aim of this qualitative research is to review as much data as is possible in order to contribute to sociological understanding of the relevance of ideology to the emergence of capitalist society in the North West. Because it was not possible to review the Macdonald papers in these confines, the work of Joseph Pope (Macdonald's official biographer, who collected Macdonald's writings as data for his publications from these fonds) was reviewed instead. While Pope was admittedly selective in his inclusions, I am not relying solely on these writings, but include them as data collected from several other primary and secondary sources.

Another challenge exists in choosing a Marxist perspective in that it will inevitably face criticisms as being 'socially deterministic' or 'ideological' and yielding a one-dimensional (conflict) result. However, Engels (1890) argues that while economic production is the basis of society, economic, cultural, and ideological factors are *equally* determining in creating, maintaining, and reproducing bourgeois social arrangements:

Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure – political forms of the class struggle and its results ... constitutions established by the victorious class ... juridical forms ... political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas – also exercise their influence upon the course of historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which ... the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary.²¹¹

The main contribution of this thesis is that it looks at the ideological elements of bourgeois social arrangements, and adds to the existing economic, political, and cultural analyses of North West development undertaken from a Marxist framework. As my documentary review of events surrounding economic development in the North West suggests, expressions of ideology and ideological processes and policies emanating from within the state and government concerning colonization, law, religion, and the education or 'civilization' of emigrant and indigenous peoples led to class struggles and the conflicts of 1869-70 and 1885. I suggest that these uprisings are a consequence of ideology and evidence of resistance

to the dominant worldview. As this analysis is theoretically grounded and evidence-based, there is little inference required to link the concept of ideology to discursive ideas, attitudes, values, beliefs, and secular politics that comprise a capitalist worldview. I make no apologies in suggesting political motives toward socio-economic and political domination of one class over another circa 1885: the actions of those at the helm of the state were not simply reactions to resistance from below. Macdonald, Mackenzie, and Blake set out to conquer the North West and its peoples with the *Law of Nations* as their ideological weapon. When the Métis resisted, the use of state force against them was justified as the right of a national sovereign.

A further contribution exists in my observations of free will in several contexts: the resistance of the Métis under Riel; the struggles for control over the local economy between the different class factions and their political representatives; and the actions of various indigenous groups who refused to rise up against the state and fight with their previous oppressors. A complete analysis of the indigenous worldview(s) in the context of the struggles of 1869-70 and 1885 is necessary but limited by expectations of a shorter piece of work, as is the ‘good cop, bad cop’ phenomena taking place in Parliament between Macdonald and Mackenzie and Blake in their dealings with indigenous peoples. There are endless amounts of data and information ‘out there’ to be explored if time and space are not an issue. However, I am only able to present the nature and type of economy, state, and society envisioned in the North West by the eastern polity, from a top-down perspective of representatives of the industrial factions of the bourgeoisie in power within the state and central government. Further research is needed to fully explore the emergence of capitalist formations in the North West by accounting for alternative worldviews from the perspective of leaders of oppositional factions and forces including Louis Riel.

FIGURE 1: Rupert's Land and the North West Territory circa 1867 with Proposed Trade & Colonization Routes



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FOOTNOTES

¹ As Marx (1867) suggests, the circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital where the circuit involves buying in order to sell and accumulate a surplus and wealth in money. The 'simple' form of this exchange or what he called the C-M-C (extraction of Commodities- to sell for Money-to buy more Commodities) exchange was established in the trading area of Rupert's Land before the introduction of what Marx called the 'M-C-M' circuit (the use of Money-to buy Commodities- to sell for Money) that defines the circulation of commodities under capitalism. Aboriginal peoples initially traded their furs for supplies and then 'sold' them for 'Made Beaver' which was used to purchase supplies from the Company for personal use.

² See (Galbraith, 1957) for his observations of the case of Guillaume Sayer, who was charged with illicit or 'free' trading in the North West which contravened the Company's exclusive license. These charges were overturned by the high court in Canada where after the Company was forced to surrender its monopoly in the territory and reinstate free trade. From 1849 on, trade in the area was unrestricted even though the Company insisted it had legal rights through the Charter. Macdonald was among those who opposed these rights and lobbied for non-renewal of the Company's license circa 1856. As this thesis will show, while Macdonald opposed the Company's monopoly and trade restrictions under mercantilism, he proposed a similar arrangement under capitalism.

³ See Andrew Smith (2005) for his discussion of the British North America Association (BNAA), a group of businessmen, merchant bankers, and manufacturers from England who formed the BNAA in 1862 for the purpose of influencing colonial policy and union of the provinces to further their investments in Canada and the Grand Trunk Railroad in particular.

⁴ Blake was the leader of the Ontario Liberal Party and the premier of Ontario between 1871 and 1872. He was also observed to echo the sentiments of the members of parliament for Vancouver regarding their constituents.

⁵ This was done through various news organs of Conservative or Liberal persuasion including the *Globe* and *Ottawa Citizen* and other papers read by members of the colonies established in Upper and Lower Canada and on Vancouver Island. While the existence of a political press was observed in the data and will be pointed out in the analysis, content analysis of the themes of editorials and opinion pieces was not possible in this thesis.

⁶ See Watkins (1963) for his analysis of the economic development of the Dene.

⁷ See the 'End of History' thesis by Fukuyama (1992).

⁸ The parliamentary monarchy and parliamentary republic that Marx (1981) identifies in *The Brumaire*.

⁹ Gramsci (1971:56n) gives the case of the Roman Empire as an example where democracy existed in the concession of citizenship among the conquered peoples. As the bourgeois argument goes, democracy does not exist under feudalism due to the closed nature of corporations and estates. However citizenship in capitalist society is equally oppressive in that the conquered peoples are still required to relinquish their land, labour, and independence.

¹⁰ Edward Gibbon Wakefield was a controversial British politician with colonial roots in Canada. His family and circle of friends include notables John Stuart Mill and Elizabeth Fry. Wakefield is credited by Marx (1867) and Teeple (1972) (among others) with developing a theory of systematic colonization which reformed Imperial colonization policies. Based on the ideas of Hinds (1832) and his experiences with the colonization of Australia, Wakefield's theory was applied in several of the forty colonies of the British Empire around the world after 1830, with the exception of Canada before Confederation, the significance of which will be discussed further in Chapter Five. It is interesting to note that several references are made to Canada as examples of what 'not to do' when colonizing a new territory in terms of making large grants of free land to

colonists. State executives in Canada applied *several* of Wakefield's ideas to reform their colonization policy, transform the mercantilist social formation and military-bureaucratic government, and establish commercial society in the North West after Confederation with British populations and British institutions to reproduce it. I further suggest that Louis Riel and/or those working with Riel were also influenced by Wakefield (1849:161) in terms of my observations of their attitudes toward the role of religion and practice in the colonization process, and this will be fully addressed in my dissertation.

¹¹ Empirical evidence of this exists in the substantive literature as Marx (1981) observes. Plans were being made in France to ship seven million unemployed French 'vagabonds' to California to work in the gold mines established by French bourgeoisie – members of Napoleon's round table. A raffle was being orchestrated to fund the costs of their passage and the development of worker settlements in America. Some of Wakefield's ideas are reminiscent of what de Vattel advocates in the *Law of Nations*, an ideological text with considerable relevance to the emergence of a capitalist economy, state, and society in the North West. This will be discussed fully in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

¹² Including Catholic, Protestant, Episcopalian, and Jewish congregations of England (Wakefield, 1849). Many pioneers in the United States and Canada who emigrated from Germany and the United Kingdom in the 17th to 19th centuries were seeking opportunities for self-determination, land, and/or freedom from religious persecution, including my ancestors (see Krueger, 1899; Dougall, 1996 for their reminiscences).

¹³ England, Ireland, and Scotland.

¹⁴ This arrangement continued until the Statute of Westminster gave Canada the right to legislate for itself in 1931, where after *theoretically* Great Britain retained control over provincial domains until the constitution was changed in 1982.

¹⁵ Lukes (2005) identifies three dimensions of power in society. In the first, using my example of government resolution of conflict of interest over distribution of resources as the context, state officials in government use their institutional power to intervene in any conflict that goes against the interests of an individual, class or social group(s) (which protects and furthers the interest of the ruling class). In the second instance, state officials in government limit access of an individual, class or social group(s) to the political process altogether (which protects and furthers the interest of the ruling class because it prevents conflict from arising and/or being known). A third dimension is also ideological in that preventing an individual, class, or group(s) from being aware of a conflict of interest and/or having a grievance shapes consciousness in such a way as to induce consent to the order of things as being natural, common sense, or the best possibility (which protects and furthers the interest of the ruling class because it reproduces the ideological sphere and prevents alternative social relations from arising).

¹⁶ The bourgeoisie, as Marx and Engels (1955:14) further observe, have created "more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all proceeding generations together" through agricultural technology and science and the clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, machines, manufactories and bureaucracies where the middle classes sink gradually into the proletariat as wage-labourers and/or career functionaries, as Gramsci (1971:186) further suggests.

¹⁷ This is an example of a 'contradiction' as previously discussed.

¹⁸ As defined by Beer in the introduction to Marx and Engels, 1970. See also Encyclopaedia of Marxism (2008).

¹⁹ As Gramsci (1971:182fn) argues, "Religion, freemasonry, Rotary, Jews, etc, can be subsumed into the social category of "intellectuals", whose function on an international scale is that of mediating the extremes, of

“socialising” the technical discoveries which provide the impetus for all activities of leadership, of devising compromises between, and ways out of extreme situations.”

²⁰ Including Emmerich de Vattel, a Swiss philosopher who integrated the ideas of German philosophers Christian Wolf and Gottfried Leibniz into his treatise of the *Law of Nations*, which I argue is an ideological text that became the guiding principles of social formation in Rupert’s Land and the North West to be discussed further in Chapter Five.

²¹ This was not necessary the case in the first years of the Canadian state. The Fathers of Confederation including pro-monarchist Macdonald unanimously selected a parliamentary (constitutional) monarchy as the system of government. However recall that Marx (1981) argues this as *the first step* in the emergence of bourgeois economy, society, and order on the road to republicanism.

²² This as another example of contradiction of bourgeois society in that it is impossible give to one class without taking from another, as Marx (1981) points out.

²³ See Smith, 2006 for a good discussion of the alliances of Liberals and Conservatives under the sway of British financiers surrounding Confederation and development of colonial trade routes in the mid-1800s. As Smith 92006: 20) notes, the only real dissent in this period came from Quebec, including the francophone Rouge paper *Le Pays*, who “informed its readers that Confederation was designed to line the pockets of the Grand Trunk and had been urged on the government by General Manager C.J. Brydges, the “*mauvais ange*” of that firm. *Le Pays* thought that Confederation would lead to a mountain of debt and sky-rocketing taxation that would enrich a few bankers while impoverishing the general population.”

²⁴ General biographical information for Macdonald, Mackenzie and Blake is taken from University of Toronto/Université Laval (2000) unless noted.

²⁵ Of utilities companies and natural resources in Ontario

²⁶ Alpheus Todd was a noted author of books on parliamentary government and was one of the framers of the British North America Act, 1867. According to A.H. Todd (1923:8), his father was the authority on the subject of constitutional monarchy and his writings are the standard of reference, “the vadeu mecum for consultation by parliamentarians in all parts of the British Empire.” Todd supported the influence of the Crown in government and was convinced that ‘proper’ rule had its source from above, not beneath, and that majority rule was the enemy to sound government. As McLean (1985:18) notes, there was little if anything in the Act that was designed to set up a ‘free and democratic society in Canada’.

²⁷ He later converted to Anglicanism.

²⁸ The Chartists as defined by Marx (1852) are the politically active portion of the British working class. The Chartist’s *Charter* contains six points toward improving the social and political conditions of the working classes foremost of which is universal suffrage. As Marx (1852:207) suggests, universal suffrage through Chartism was “a far more socialistic measure than anything which has been honoured with that name on the Continent.”

²⁹ While the Parliamentary Reform-Liberal Party of Canada would have been the opposition in the House of Commons, there was no ‘official’ opposition in parliament in the Government of Canada between 1867 and 1873 until the first session of the second parliament in 1873 when Mackenzie became official party leader. Whether this means that the people of Canada were without a dissenting voice in government is unknown, however, the party under Mackenzie’s ‘management’ had no constitutional authority (Canada, 1994).

³⁰ Even though Blake was leader, the opposition in the House had no authority until 1873 however I have included him to review his speeches for alternative ideas and visions for the North West.

³¹ Advocates of ‘The Irish Cause’ believed in Home Rule in Ireland through Irish Legislature and local responsibility for domestic affairs

³² Including derivative forms such as ‘North-West’, ‘northwest’, and ‘North-Western’. ‘northwestern’, etcetera.

³³ Ideas about the following sample subjects were observed: agriculture, American expansion, British institutions, (trade with) China, Chinese labour, coal, churches, education, immigration, farming, farmers, Fenians, fur trade, (local) (municipal) (responsible)(self) government, grievances, ‘half-breeds’, homesteads, Hudson’s Bay Company, ‘Indians’, immigration, industrial schools, land, land acts, land grants, law, legislation, the Métis, railway construction, religion, Scrip, settlement, Temperance, timber and other elements of economic, socio-political, and cultural organization.

³⁴ “The Pacific Scandal” is a major theme among Liberal campaign speeches of this period.

³⁵ Henry Lemmon was the proprietor and publisher of the *Brantford Courier* and a close political ally of Macdonald (Ottawa, 1968:368fn1)

³⁶ But not blindly, as the treatise instructs, insofar as it violates the law of nature in terms of individual liberty (See de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:21).

³⁷ These men would be among those selected as officials and leaders within the state and public authority.

³⁸ As de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867:56) states, “it is a disgrace to human nature, that a truth of this kind should stand in need of proof.”

³⁹ Several conditions exist in the treatise for people of different religions as well as instructions for establishing religion in annexed nations, including provisions for voluntary removal from the new society. See de Vattel in Chitty (1867:57).

⁴⁰ Including convents and monasteries that depopulate the nation as was the case in Spain and France and even Germany where ‘the protestant states are twice as populous as the Catholic ones’ (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:88).

⁴¹ Government is required to keep an eye on the course of foreign trade so that it may preserve and protect the profitable branches and cut off those that cause exports of gold.

⁴² ‘Colonization’, ‘citizenship’, ‘law’, ‘religion’, ‘education’, ‘government’, ‘agriculture’, ‘railway’, ‘settlement’, and so on.

⁴³ For example *The Globe* was considered a Liberal organ; *The Ottawa Citizen* Conservative, as was the *London Free Press* and so on.

⁴⁴ As discussed in my introductory chapter, this network (and monopoly) stretched from the Red River to the Saskatchewan Valley and far into the north and western regions of Rupert’s Land, from the Hudson Bay and the Arctic Ocean to British Columbia, down the coast into Oregon, and across the Gulf to Vancouver Island.

⁴⁵ A Royal Charter is a regulatory instrument of incorporating several individuals into one legal entity or corporation, and then grants it certain rights, monopoly, office, title, status, or ‘patent.’ It is issued by a Sovereign on the advice of Privy Council for both private and public purposes, to eminent bodies that have

reached the highest standard of achievement in a certain field. Once issued, a Royal Charter brings the internal affairs of the Corporation under his/her government, authority, and control (England, 2009).

⁴⁶ Country produce in the North West included locally grown and manufactured products and foodstuffs of wheat, barley, and other grains, wild 'Indian' corn and rice, salt, and Maple sugar; game including fish, duck, geese, moose, buffalo and their by-products; lumber and lumber by-products including birch bark, Shagganapie, pitch and gum; manufactured articles including boats, canoes, robes, sturgeon oil, Pimican (sic), sinews, skins, parchment leather, shoes, and tents; and livestock including dogs (dog trains), sheep, saddle horses, cattle, and pigs (Mackay, 1949: 355-360).

⁴⁷ Many astrological, magnetic, and biological observations were made by the Society in the North West, including those which expressed 'grave doubt of the agricultural possibilities on the prairies or the desirability of settlers being persuaded to go there ... the land being unfavourable for cultivation except for a few small alluvial points occupied by the Scotch farmers' (Lt. Colonel J.H. Lefroy, R.A., in Mackay, 1949:260; 266).

⁴⁸ The British Crown Colony of Vancouver Island for example, where colonial administration would eventually fall within The Company's jurisdiction in 1849 until 1867 (Mackay, 1949).

⁴⁹ Resource and raw materials extraction for private profit through manufacturing pursuits in Great Britain was the sole purpose of the Company; local and moral governance was undertaken in the interest of a successful fur trade, not settlement through emigration of British peoples previous to 1867. Local manufactures were encouraged, taken on trade, exported or taken back to Europe with what Mackay (1949) refers to as the 'Goers and Comers' to the trading area where they were sold in foreign markets. This required a military-bureaucratic form of government that also prevented feudal social formation in the region, even though its proprietorship was quasi-feudal in nature.

⁵⁰ I use the term 'quasi-feudal' in the same way that Marx and Engels (1947:10-12) use it in *The German Ideology* to describe the development of productive forces corresponding to a form of property, specifically, the private ownership and organization of land upon which "property consisted chiefly in the labour of each individual person." As Mackay (1949) observes, this resulted in an enserfed producing class who were tied to the land in servitude of fur cultivation in exchange for supplies, where the extra-economic practice of trading in rum aided in the appropriation of their labour. After this practice was stopped, largely in part by the appeals of the local clergy, Amerindian produce was taken in on trade for 'Made Beaver', a form of Company commerce which could only be used for the purchase of Company goods and supplies excluding alcohol and/or any form of property internal to the Company.

While Amerindian peoples were not overtly dominated in the pre-Confederation period as Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993) suggest, the continued supply of alcohol from external sources exacerbated their economic exploitation which contributed to the destruction of the old society and the "resulting formation of an entirely new organization of society" as Marx and Engels (1947:10-12) would suggest. This new social formation created a further division of labour that differentiated between local producers and the masters, chiefs, apprentices in the forts, and priests and ministers in the mission. It enabled small scale and primitive cultivation of Company property as well as the rapid spread of agriculture in the North West after the demise of the Company circa 1869-70.

⁵¹ Land grants were given to Company officers and gentlemen upon retirement and for the purposes of colonization and settlement beginning with the Selkirk settlement in 1811.

⁵² Neither English or French-speaking producers of Red River had legal title or rights to these lots even if they had settled on it before Confederation and/or developed and improved the land as a condition of patent after. Title was granted on a case by case basis.

⁵³ The Company kept statistics and annual abstracts of the number of Indian men, women, and children of both sexes in each outfit at each post in all districts (Hudson's Bay Company Resolutions, 1835, in Mackay, 1949:368).

⁵⁴ The Company employed a variety of tradesmen beyond those directly engaged in the fur trade including blacksmiths, boat builders, mechanics, and general servants in England, Canada, and the North West country or 'Indian wilderness' and the Southern part of the territories at Red River. (Mackay, 1949).

⁵⁵ However, Company organization was hierarchical in nature whereby those holding lower positions were not given the same rations or allowed to mess with commissioned gentlemen or clerks. This structure became more stratified and paramilitary as competition between trading companies increased in the mid-1700's (Mackay, 1949:362).

⁵⁶ 'Partnership' in this case indicated that forty percent of Company profits were shared among the highest ranking officers. Management duties included strident accounting of Company goods and property through records, balance sheets, books of payroll, debts, and advances, as well as control of Indian manufactures of shoes, leather skins, and furs plus strict enforcement of limitation on exportation of Indian manufactures from the country by retirees and 'Goers and Comers.' Enforcement practices included baggage searches at depots into Canada and Europe and forfeiture of overages to the Company (Mackay, 1949:367).

⁵⁷ As Teeple (1972) notes, Selkirk was part of the government's pre-Confederation assisted settlement program designed to settle indigent immigrants from eastern Canada on the land with provision of necessary farm implements and free food stocks for one year.

⁵⁸ In terms of the rates calculated per item for Indian trader in exchange for Made Beaver corresponding to the 'Indian' price or estimated value of the item in trade. An additional 200 percent of the 'inventory' price was charged to Freeman trappers employed by the Company if they were unable to pay for their supplies with furs. This is interesting when considering that European settlers of Red River – the wage labour and consuming class of the North West in the 17th and 18th centuries - were charged a rate of only 100 percent on inventory. In addition, while Freeman were not allowed to own property including horses, dog teams and/or other means of subsistence while employed by the Company, Indian traders were. Further, Indian traders received additional 'service moneys and usual gratuities in consideration of good hunts' while such payment to Company Freeman had to be authorized by formal resolve in Council. Furthermore, indebted Freeman and Company employees were paid annually on advance of bare necessities and were required to give one year's notice else they be detained for an additional year at their going rate and denied passage home (Mackay, 1949:357-64).

⁵⁹ This changed significantly after the Company lost its exclusive trade license and Amerindian producers were either expropriated from the land or settled on reserves with the sale and transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1870. As Mackay (1949) suggests, many Company men including Métis traders had anticipated its demise as early as 1821 when the North West and Hudson Bay companies merged, and began to take steps to weather these changes in 1857 and again in 1863 when the proprietorship changed hands. Many families had established prosperous mixed farming operations in the Saskatchewan Valley by the end of the Company's tenure.

⁶⁰ As Mackay (1949:222) observes, this was not the case for employees of the North West and Canadian Companies who were bent on *immediate* profits "hoping to capture quick wealth and retire."

⁶¹ After the merger with the North West Company.

⁶² The Company owned and ruled an area of more than 3,000,000 square miles or approximately one quarter of the continent (Galbraith, 1957). The sale of Rupert's Land to Canada was the 'largest single *peaceful* transfer of land' in world history (Mackay, 1949).

⁶³ Mackay (1949:109) suggests that the practice of trading in rum in the North West was introduced by private traders, individual pedlars, and capitalists backed by Montreal interests, and that this practice took hold in the mid 1700's. The rum trade, he argues, enabled the emergence of the Canadian Company and The North West Company of which the former came to power in the territories in 1783 until its absorption by The Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. While Mackay (1949) asserts that the North West Company was solely responsible for the debauchery and depletion of fur bearing animals in the North West territories, he admits that "The England of James, William and Mary and the Georges felt no obligation to guide the morality or restrain the drinking habits of savages" during this time. While Amerindian knowledge, skills, and alliances were necessary to the fur trade, questions of morality did not intrude upon the 'simple economics of barter with the locals in the first century of trade'. Trade in spirits was seen simply as supplying a demand and making a profit (Mackay, 1949:219).

⁶⁴ As Smyth (2000) points out, many leading Métis and English-speaking Métis men were educated in Company schools.

⁶⁵ Where, in 1838, according to Mackay's (1949:239) account, the expeditions of The Company enabled Britain to plant the first flag, map the northern coastline, explore the Yukon within 90 miles of the magnetic pole, and claim the headlands of the Beaufort and Chukchi Seas as one possible Arctic route. Its exclusive trade license was renewed in return.

⁶⁶ Mackay (1949:254) observes the building of Amerindian alliances in his chapter on Company structure between 1670 and 1870, where he suggests that Company officers *appointed* Chiefs territories' to nurture trade alliances and activities to prevent hostilities. As Mackay observes, the Company also used coercion and threat of force which proved equally successful in maintaining peace on the American side, as was the case in the western territories.

⁶⁷ Recall that many emigrants came to the New World to escape economic oppression and/or religious persecution in the Old World, but then transformed the arrangement with the Empire, as seen in the case of the American Revolution.

⁶⁸ Macdonald is suggesting that the British in Canada are superior to, but oppressed by the French majority, and are natural masters enslaved by a reversed master-slave-relationship. However, the phrase "hewers of wood and drawers of water" is a biblical reference originating in the teachings of Deuteronomy 29:11 in the Old Testament, where the practice of the Israelites is to enslave those who attempt to war against them after their defeat. The laws of Moses would thus apply to the entire community: "the heads of your tribes, your elders, your officials, every Israelite man, your infants, your wives, and the foreigners living in your encampment, those who chop wood and those who carry water." As long as the entire community obeys the laws, the land is productive; if they disobey, the land as the people's livelihood is destroyed. The phrase has become synonymous with the practice of Christendom, the slave trade, and the colonization of African-Americans described by Brotz (1966; see also Wakefield, 1833), where 'the Negro, on his own soil, is but a 'hewer of wood and a drawer of water'." These themes are not immediately observed as ideology in the data for this thesis, that is, the formation of an outright state of slavery as a means of reproducing the power and interests of the land (plantation- slave) owning classes. That being said, I argue that colonization and civilization of Amerindian peoples are *the* methods of reproducing a political economy on Canadian soil for the purpose of expanding the Empire to 'British North America' through the on-going conquest of France. Further, that this required the subjugation and assimilation of French-speaking Roman Catholic peoples including the Métis. My observations and the role of the emigration of Protestant Christians from Europe and Ontario for this purpose are found in Chapter Six. Further observations of Riel's ideas about colonization of Judeo-Christian

populations from Eastern Europe as productive forces in the North West during this period will be addressed in my dissertation.

⁶⁹ While Mackenzie was not among the 'elite' of Canada, he shared in their vision of 'rescuing' the North West from the Company (Mackenzie, January 12, 1881: 388).

⁷⁰ The Province of Canada was a British colony from 1841 to 1867. Macdonald acted as joint Premier with Cartier for the majority its existence from 1857 to 1867, except for a short stint in 1858 and 1862-1864 under the Brown-Dorian and Sanfield Macdonald-Sicotte-Dorian coalition governments respectively.

⁷¹ Macdonald opposed a group of eastern capitalists that included future Prime Minister John Abbott who published the *Montreal Annexation Manifesto* in 1849. The manifesto called for ending all ties with Great Britain and the merger of Canada with the United States under an American Republic. This was thought to be the better strategy for western expansion and development, continental defense, and free market capitalism in North America.

⁷² Of the millions of British and European emigrants arriving in North America circa 1840, three quarters had settled in the United States (Teeple, 1972). As Teeple (1972) observes, Canadian-born residents were leaving by the hundreds because land was too expensive, high taxation was caused by absentee landowners, and jobs were scarce in eastern Canada.

⁷³ Or complete 'lack' of a land policy, as Teeple (1972) argues.

⁷⁴ As Teeple (1972) notes, 'Loyalist Rights' to Crown land could be had for free or 'a gallon of rum' by local businessmen and prominent politicians upon stipulation that it be settled according to regulations attached to the grants. Very little of this land was developed or opened to settlement. Instead, Loyalist land was granted as townships to groups of political associates, merchants, and land speculators who hoarded it as demand increased the price alongside emigration. Further, the common practice in the leasing of Crown land and Clergy reserves was to strip the land of timber and move on before paying rent. Low prices set by settlement policies designed to encourage bona fide settlers put more Crown land into the hands of land-jobbers and speculators, which prevented cultivation. Almost all arable lands in eastern Canada were taken up in this way before Confederation; the rest were sold to land companies, merchants, and French seigneurs who charged exorbitant rents, the practice of which was protected by their representatives in government.

⁷⁵ Teeple (1972) notes that these practices further isolated French colonists of eastern Canada who were exploited and driven off by English and/or American land companies, the profits of which went back to England or the United States. Conquered and oppressed under an ancient military regime, they became further exploited by local magistrates who were also merchants, who forced them into dependency and then foreclosed on their mortgages. They became part of the growing landless and unemployed labour classes emigrating from the British Isles, faced with either moving to the United States or living in abject poverty in Canada. Settlers who managed to hold onto their land encountered ongoing problems with land agents and magistrate merchants who either tried to drive them off and/or extend them credit for manufactured goods, which usually ended with disastrous results when they could not pay the debt.

⁷⁶ The tragedy in this, as Teeple (1972) notes, is that those who emigrated from Britain to escape the poverty caused by unavailable land and unemployment there faced the same situation once they arrived here; there was little hope for those without means to ever return to the land.

⁷⁷ Settlers in the North West were burdened with the brunt of these responsibilities in submitting to a system of taxation necessary to build a railway through the North West as both a colonization and military line; however, it came to bear on the people of eastern Canada to participate in the military defence of the Empire in 1870 and 1885.

⁷⁸ Along with leading eastern Canadian capitalist John Ross, president of the Grand Trunk Railway and future Minister of Agriculture, Chief Justice Draper, and other influential politicians and high ranking elites plus members of the Anglican clergy including local English-speaking Métis (Macdonald, 1969:81n).

⁷⁹ Brandy and rum trading foremost among others which was initially supplied by British merchants but more recently by American whiskey traders.

⁸⁰ The Red River Valley (also known as The Red River Colony, Selkirk Settlement, Selkirk Concession, and District of Assiniboia) was established on a tract of land 300,000 kilometres square in what is now Southern Manitoba. The land was donated by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811 for the purpose of colonization for Scottish settlement and agricultural experimentation. Fort Garry was considered its capital and was the principal trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company until 1870 (Mackay, 1949). It was also part of the government's assisted settlement program to settle indigent immigrants from eastern Canada as previously noted.

⁸¹ The Saskatchewan Valley is a parcel of land in what is now central Saskatchewan encompassing the area between North Battleford, Prince Albert and Saskatoon. Historically Cree territory, the Métis wintered there along the Saskatchewan Rivers from Fort Qu'Appelle to Fort Carleton (Payment, 1990).

⁸² This practice began in 1857 and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

⁸³ The Isbister name is synonymous with Protestant culture (Code, 2008). It is also a prominent name among Company defence forces including Joseph who was a member of the English regiment at Albany Fort protecting British property against French and Spanish invasion and gaining intelligence of the activities of the French in the fur trade areas circa 1744 (Mackay, 1949). As Code (2008) observes, it is also a leading name among English-speaking Métis of Red River where James, a retired Company clerk, is noted as the founder of the first settlement in Saskatchewan Valley at Prince Albert. Originally known as 'The Isbister Settlement' circa 1862 (Smyth, 2000), it was founded some six short years after Alexander Isbister participated in the delegation from Canada attending the Royal Commission of 1862, including John A. Macdonald.

⁸⁴ Métis and English-speaking Métis settlers along the Saskatchewan sought and won land rights from the Company to a long stretch of river on both sides of their settlements pre-dating the land surveys (Flanagan, 2000).

⁸⁵ While the concept of terra nullius is not explicitly stated in the *Law of Nations*, its meaning is inferred in the idea of land belonging to no one; a 'no man's land' that is not in possession of, or use by, an autonomous political society or state.

⁸⁶ This is a translation done by Joseph Chitty (1867), an English lawyer who transcribed de Vattel's original from French into English and added his own commentary concerning England's role in developing international capitalist society circa 1852. This is the same method that de Vattel followed in adapting and translating de Wolff's *Jus Gentium* (1749) from Latin into French almost a century earlier using England, France, and Germany as examples. While de Vattel furthers and critiques the ideas of de Wolff, a prominent German-Protestant scholar writing during the Reformation on the basis of his formulations of the relevance of universal law to the emergence of a universal republic (of nations). I suggest that this work is the ultimate guide to the establishment of world economic system and society, and the English version is very helpful in understanding the goals of industrial factions for capitalist development in Rupert's Land and the North West in this context. The main departure of de Vattel from de Wolff is in de Vattel's argument that there is no natural inclination for independent states to unite in universal civil society. While there is a need for laws to govern communication and commerce between states to this end, such law need not be universal. Instead,

international commercial conduct should be voluntary and left up to a particular state based on the just law of nature and the reasonable principle of mutual assistance to fellow man (see de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867: xiv).

As Chitty (1867:lvfn1) states, “the law of nations is adopted in Great Britain in its full and most liberal extent of common law, and is held to be the law of the land.” While Chitty’s notes describe England’s “sincere desire to increase the general welfare of all mankind”, he states that it is also an ‘admitted rule among all European nations, that our common religion, ‘Christianity, pointing out the principles of natural justice, should be equally appealed to and observed.’ Note a similar discourse in *The Royal Charter* presented in my historical Chapter Four concerning the international commercial rights of the ‘Christian Prince and State’.

⁸⁷ Not to be confused with a *free labor market* throughout the world.

⁸⁸ As seen in the motto of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police which is ‘Maintiens le droit’ or ‘maintain the right.’

⁸⁹ Translations from Latin to German to French to English.

⁹⁰ England, as well as France, Holland, and ‘several towns of Switzerland and Germany and among the Holy Roman Empire’ are compared to “the many regions buried in ignorance” in terms of nations having the greatest number of “honest men and good citizens” (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:48). France is also given as the example of the ‘politest’ and most genteel, courteous, inviting nation for foreigners and their commerce of which all other nations should endeavour to be (de Vattel, in Chitty, 1867:186).

⁹¹ Alcohol is one example.

⁹² de Vattel recommends a Monarchy as the best form of government as long as the power of the sovereign is limited.

⁹³ In addition to the institutions of municipal self-government, to be discussed in the following section.

⁹⁴ Customs considered contrary included indulgences, papal bulls, and dispensations from countries in communion which drew riches away from a state and into the coffers of Rome which was contrary to the order of religious justice for nations establishing alternative or Protestant forms of state religion.

⁹⁵ Labour can be imposed upon idle population, as in the case of the construction and maintenance of highway and canals for the purpose of commerce. Merchants are expected to pay a toll for the use of such infrastructure, as are the population to pay for its upkeep.

⁹⁶ As Marx (1867) suggests, the circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital where the circuit involves buying in order to sell. The circulation of commodities under capitalism starts with purchase of the means of producing a commodity which requires an expenditure of money, and ends with a sale of the commodity that generates more money. This money is used to buy more commodities in order to sell them, rather than use them as in the case of individuals who buy a commodity such as bread in order to survive. Marx referred to this as the M-C-M circuit or Money-Commodities-Money that defines the circulation of commodities under capitalism.

⁹⁷ See Macdonald (1878:492; 1881; May 30, 1881 who reiterates the urgency in gaining access to this wealth through communications networks and settlement on several occasions.

⁹⁸ Mackenzie based his ideas on the experiences of England where as soon as the Corn Laws were repealed, Great Britain took on a fresh start and everything possible was done to increase the productiveness of the soil. Free trade infused new life into the pursuit of agriculture and the whole country prospered. After better

implements, husbandry, and new manures were developed, the price of commodities rose, rents nearly doubled, and the farmer produced more than ever before. Free trade was beneficial for the working classes and all those who have to purchase their food, the landlords and tenants alike. The industrial classes received better pay, the landowners received rents never dreamed of, and the manufacturers became wealthy. The country increased in wealth five times what it was previously. He was adamant that “our existence as a nation does not depend on having a Canada for Canadians” (Mackenzie, 1878: 11).

⁹⁹ A ‘band’ is defined under *The Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes [in the Province of Canada] (1857)* as a “Tribe or other recognized community of Indians”. The relevance of the Act in the context of a ‘British community of Indians’ will be discussed further in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven.

¹⁰⁰ Except for Tory and Imperialist allies as previously discussed.

¹⁰¹ As an alternative to republican democracy in the United States.

¹⁰² Wakefield (1849) argued that the ‘sponsorship’ of idle British labour by capitalists to encourage emigration was ineffective in Canada because droves of the working class were leaving for the United States to find a better deal as soon as they arrived, at their employer’s expense. There is no evidence of bourgeois officials advocating portage to the colony in exchange for work and labour in the data for Macdonald or Mackenzie, as Marx (1981) observed was the case for idle French populations going to work in California as discussed in Chapter Two. Instead, McLean (1985) suggests that this is what the Amerindian peoples of the North West, especially the French and English-speaking Métis populations were being assimilated for. If one argues, as I do, that Wakefield’s principles were followed by the Canadian state after 1867, this can be inferred from observations of the discourse on the establishment of agricultural (parochial) schools. This will be explained further in Chapter Six.

¹⁰³ This is important to keep in mind when considering the forced settlement of Amerindian people toward agricultural pursuits.

¹⁰⁴ Macdonald was the principal organizer of a convention held by the British American League in 1849. The British North American League was an association formed in Montreal in 1849 for the purpose of finding remedies for “all the commercial and industrial depression” and for the “evils of a social and political character” of the day. It was theoretically non-partisan, but was actually a thoroughly Conservative body (See Macdonald, 1969: 63).

¹⁰⁵ As Mackenzie notes, “Before I was a representative of the people, I felt it to be my duty, to take a very active interest, in rescuing that country from the hands of the Hudson’s Bay Company” (Mackenzie, January 12, 1881: 388). Mackenzie and Blake supported Macdonald’s this regard, but differing with some of his views regarding national economic policy and certain elements of government in the North West. While Macdonald proposed a policy of protection in the spirit of Wakefield’s (1849) colonization theory, Mackenzie and Blake were advocates of free trade; they were also in no hurry to establish permanent representative institutions, the relevance of which will be discussed further in this chapter.

¹⁰⁶ Wakefield opposed universal suffrage in the colonies because of the constant influx and roving disposition of ‘the poor and ignorant class of new settlers’ and to prevent loss of the property to land sharks and speculators.

¹⁰⁷ As Wakefield (1849:232) argued, withholding ‘every proper consequence of representation – their dearest municipal right in the English colonies of America cost us their allegiance’. The ‘gross errors in despotic, central bureaucratic administration immune to public opinion’ that occurred in Canada in the years before Confederation were to be reformed, not repeated.

¹⁰⁸ Macdonald implemented a protective tariff to salvage the manufacturers ‘and those who depended upon them, the working people and their families of the country who have been hoping against hope ... and believing they would get assistance.’ He believed that “if there ever is a time when it is lawful, or allowable, or wise, or expedient for a ‘paternal’ Government to interfere, now is that time” (Macdonald, March 7, 1876: 493; 495-6).

¹⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that while Wakefield’s (1849: 94) proposed colonization of labour and capital to “counteract the rapid growth in wealth and population from increased competition between all classes in Britain” excerpt for landed property, it would be used to create competition in Canada.

¹¹⁰ Wakefield (1849) tried to retrofit his theory to Canada through the sale of Crown land for two dollars per acre and taxation on wild lands with the proceeds going toward financing a programme of public works.

¹¹¹ Those at the helm of the colony in Canada within Imperial Parliament did not attempt to apply Wakefield’s principles before Confederation for these reasons (Downing Street, 1847). Problems with emigration and settlement arose afterwards due in part to the Americans “constantly depreciating the value of our property, and making absurdly low offers.” However state executives were confident in their ideas, and the fact that “ere we finish we will see the advantages that Canada will gain from my firmness” (Macdonald to Lord Lisgar, Washington, 7 April 1871, in Pope, 1921:143-5).

¹¹² Approximately ten times the size of the Province of Canada in 1867, and the single largest ‘peaceful’ transfer of land ever according to Mackay (1949).

¹¹³ Hinds (1832) proposed a solution to the problems of colonization by proposing that the Imperial government send forth all dimensions of the old society to establish a mature state upon settlement. The ‘helpless’ new community would require a government and laws, churches and schools, and civil or military servants of the state to be succeeded by others of ‘the same high character’. The solution lay in nominating a leader or ‘chief man’ for the community who would bring friends and other members of the bourgeoisie, as well as family and dependents. It was of utmost importance for the bourgeoisie to paint “glowing pictures of this land of milk and honey [so that all] who are needy and discontented—all who seek in vain at home for independence and comfort and future wealth, are called on to seize the golden moment.” Successful colonization would transfer a population “representation of the parent state—colonists from all ranks” in order that “the middle classes and lower classes move with the state of society – the same social and political union under which they had been born and bred” (Hinds, 1832:109).

¹¹⁴ Wakefield (1849) was of the opinion that the system of government in Canada was ‘spoiled’ by its central bureaucracy that was ‘exceedingly’ bureaucratic and slow in matters concerning emigration and settlement. He believed that the municipal system practiced in England was much more efficient and practical for developing frontier settlements. This is an example of the fragmentation of the bourgeoisie in that Wakefield was one of its theorists, and where the bourgeoisie choose to ignore certain tenets of the *Law of Nations*. In this case, de Vattel argues that laws, treaties, and institutions including the municipal system of government practiced in England should be that practiced within its territorial possessions.

¹¹⁵ Rupert’s Land and the North West were entered into Confederation after an amendment to the *British North America Act, 1867* in 1871, which gave the central government the power to establish new provinces, territories, and territorial boundaries to accommodate their confederation.

¹¹⁶ Amendments to the Act in 1867 gave the existing provinces control over the management and sale of public lands and non-renewable resources.

¹¹⁷ Including a communication system linking British Columbia to the other provinces and territories of the federation.

¹¹⁸ This is one instance where the principles of the *Law of Nations* were ignored. As de Vattel suggests, a Charter from the sovereign is a legal entitlement of possession, which is the basis of the Hudson Bay Company's claim in the 'Indian' Territory: that when the Imperial government transferred its rights to legislate for the territories to Canada, the legal rights of the Company were ignored. As Macdonald argued, if they had any legal rights, they would be respected by the new state (Macdonald, December 9, 1867: 223; February 11, 1875: 66).

¹¹⁹ Interestingly, 'white men on reserves' were not enfranchised either as of 1884, although Macdonald was interested in finding a means for this, as well as for Aboriginal men who had "assumed the responsibilities of white men." However, there would be no social justice for women. He felt that "by slow degrees, the idea of placing woman on an equality with man has grown in the civilized world, but I do not know whether, among Indian tribes, the idea has reached that stage that it has in the Canadian Parliament" (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538).

¹²⁰ Municipal government was part of the legislation in *The Indian Act, 1876*.

¹²¹ 'Room' is defined by Wakefield (1849: 65-66) as the means of a comfortable subsistence according to the respective standards of living established amongst the classes. A 'want' of room arises from competition between members within the classes. In England, a want of room existed for farmers and labourers while there was 'plenty' of room for them in the North West. The state therefore endeavoured to entice capitalists to emigrate with labour as a state.

¹²² Including landless, property-less French farmers who were moving into Upper Canada and then on into the United States because they had either lost their land due to recent pestilence and poor soil conditions plaguing Quebec, oppressive landlords, or the over-crowding of families on seigneurial land, as Marx (1981) observes elsewhere (see also Morton, 2006: 30-1).

¹²³ Recall that the ascendancy of British Canadians relied on the subjugation of the French in Canada as discussed in Chapter Four. Note that targeted emigrant populations included European French peoples but not as a primary group. The French in Canada were not observed as being recruited for settlement until 1891. As Macdonald states, "for a century and a half this country has grown and flourished under the protecting aegis of the British Crown. The gallant race who first bore to our shores the blessings of civilization passed by an easy transition from French to English rule, and now form one of the most law-abiding portions of the community. These pioneers were speedily recruited by the advent of a loyal band of British subjects, who gave up everything that men most prize, and were content to begin life anew in the wilderness rather than forgo allegiances to their Sovereign. To the descendants of these men, and of the multitude of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen who emigrated to Canada, that they might build up new homes without ceasing to be British subjects" (Macdonald, Last Address to the People of Canada, Earnscliffe, Ottawa, February 7, 1891 in Pope, 1948:627 and 772-777).

¹²⁴ As Wakefield (1849) states, it was necessary for the leading classes to paint a pretty picture of the colony; a bountiful paradise for the poor, working, emigrant class 'whose members were without the capacity to realize this otherwise'. The North West was thus depicted as a 'comfortable and happy home' for "thousands of distressed people" from the British working classes to relieve the 'suffering millions' of the working classes from enforced idleness in the United Kingdom (Mackenzie, February 25, 1880: 207).

¹²⁵ Macdonald was of this view because Aboriginal peoples of Ontario had 'abandoned the old tribal system and state of tutelage and had successfully assimilated' (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2104 - 2112). This view would later apply to Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia, who, as Member of Parliament Bunster assured him, "were generally of a superior class to those from the interior part of the continent. They were intelligent, and made good farmers. Many of them were educated in the Roman Catholic religion, members of which church had taken great pains in civilising (sic) them. Those Indians make a good class of settlers" (Macdonald,

May 3, 1880: 1942). They were also considered to be self-sufficient, and as Macdonald speculates: “Whether it is because they are a different race altogether, or whether, from their being supposed to be mingled with Mongol blood, coming across Behring’s Straits, I do not know” (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1101). The only exception was the Aboriginal peoples of the outlying Queen Charlotte Islands, where “a very formidable place for white men to visit” (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102).

¹²⁶ See also footnote 186.

¹²⁷ Blake was the leader of the Ontario Liberal Party and the premier of Ontario between 1871 and 1872. He was also observed to echo the sentiments of the members of parliament for Vancouver regarding their constituents.

¹²⁸ This was done through various news organs of Conservative or Liberal persuasion including the *Globe* and *Ottawa Citizen* and other papers read by members of the colonies established in Upper and Lower Canada and on Vancouver Island. While the existence of a political press was observed in the data and will be pointed out in the analysis, content analysis of the themes of editorials and opinion pieces was not possible in this thesis.

¹²⁹ For 300,000.00 British pound sterling (Macdonald, November 24, 1875: 12).

¹³⁰ Amendments to the Act in 1867 gave the existing provinces control over the management and sale of public lands and non-renewable resources.

¹³¹ Prosperity is a theme observed to mean enjoyment of ‘private property’ in the discourse.

¹³² It must be pointed out that land as a form of capital is never really owned by an individual or group. While an individual or group can improve it through cultivation and/or building construction toward personal or capital uses, the land on which a crop or buildings exist can be appropriated by the state at any time through the principles of eminent domain. These principles are outlined in the *Expropriation Act (R.S., 1985, c. E-21)*, a law that outlines the allowance of condemnations or ‘expropriation’ of individual property for public purposes and/or public works through fair value and special use monetary compensation. While the individual or group can appeal the amount of compensation, there is no recourse to get the property back. In Saskatchewan, *The Expropriation Act, 1978* allows for the taking of lands of any tenure for public use while the *Saskatchewan Planning and Development Act, 1983* allows municipalities to expropriate lands aimed at the renewal, improvement, and/or ‘gentrification’ of neighbourhoods and urban cores when they are unable to acquire the land by other means.

¹³³ Commonly known as the ‘Gradual Civilization Act’.

¹³⁴ The Act also made provisions for the wife, widow, and lineal descendants of enfranchised Indian males, where they would hold the land for life as long as the mother continued to live ‘respectively’ in the eyes of the Superintendent or his delegates. Each would have a respective share in half of the capital held in trust by the state, with the other half of the capital going to the band. If there was no widow and/or descendants the land would escheat to the Crown, as it would in the case of remarriage of the widow. If there were children under twenty-one, they would thereafter be under the guardianship of the state as to their property and rights. Furthermore, should the children of an enfranchised male wish to attend a trade school, his apprenticeship and tuition would be paid for by the state from the moneys in trust.

¹³⁵ While it became his property, it could not be disposed of. Rather, it was to become part of the reserve, any revenue thereof was to be used in the interest of the band (Macdonald, May 26, 1885: 2104 - 2112).

¹³⁶ And according to Macdonald ‘many did’ (July 6, 1885: 3113).

¹³⁷ These calculations were based on the same principles as land appropriations made to the United Empire Loyalists for the purposes of settlement by their children. However, control of Indigenous lands were invested in the federal state or the Province, and not the individual (Macdonald, May 2, 1870: 1320-24).

¹³⁸ There is a Royal Roads University. It is a former private military college established in 1940 in Victoria, British Columbia.

¹³⁹ According to Wakefield (1849:49), public functionaries are the privileged classes in British colonies, but not in their home countries. He suggests that this is the reason for 'the low standard of honour', and that such standards must be reformed by the emigration of a civilized noble class.

¹⁴⁰ The Indian Register is the official record of 'Indians' in Canada. As briefly discussed in Chapter Two, it was started in the 1850's as the first land titles were extinguished. It was maintained by Indian Agents and used to differentiate between 'status Indians' and French and English-speaking Métis peoples (and Inuit) in terms of Treaty Rights.

¹⁴¹ In addition to several registered bands and those who would not or had not yet signed Treaty including "British Indians who were in the United States" who had been driven by the American government "into our North-West and insisting that they shall not be allowed to come back" (Macdonald, April 26, 1882: 1184). State executives expended great resources to get them to return to their reservations in the United States "because those Indians are not only the cause of irritation – but they interfere very much with our own Indians" (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1942).

¹⁴² Also known as 'The Homestead Right.' While the *Act, 1872* was designed to encourage settlement, it gave central government jurisdiction over land in the prairie provinces and territories until 1905. Land was available for purchase at one dollar per acre at up to 640 acres per person. Free homestead rights of 160 acres were available to the heads of families, twenty-one years or older (this was later amended to age eighteen). A 'patent' of ownership was issued after three years upon proof of actual settlement and cultivation including improvement of the property by construction of dwelling and out buildings and residence of at least for six months a year for at least three years. This property could not be sold unless for the benefit of orphaned children of deceased property owners (Canada, 1872). I argue that the policy of 'proving up for patent' is the equivalent of the 'sufficient price' principle of Wakefield's theory in that it restricts the speed at which settlers and Aboriginal peoples could become property owners.

¹⁴³ The *Manitoba Act, 1870* allocated 1.4 million acres of land for the purpose of settling claims made by the Métis under Riel, to be distributed to qualified settlers by the Manitoba legislature, and held in trust for their children (Manitoba, 1870; Ens, 2005).

¹⁴⁴ Executives strategically selected reserve lands in the North away from the frontier. They incurred the expense of getting the bands out of the United States and settled on their reserves in Canada. See Macdonald (May 3, 1882: 1291) for the case of Big Bear. They also made arrangements to pay Treaty on reserves so as to get the bands away from the forts (Macdonald, May 3, 1882: 1291).

¹⁴⁵ *An Act respecting Half-breed Lands and quieting certain Titles thereto, 1881; An Act to explain the Half-breed Land Protection Act, 1883; An Act respecting Decrees in Equity, 1884; An Act to Amend the Half-breed Land Protection Act, 1884; An Act Relating to titles of Half-breed Lands, 1885* (see Ens (2005) for full explanation of this legislation and its historical significance.

¹⁴⁶ As discussed in Chapter Four. See Macdonald's letter to Governor General the Marquess of Lansdowne, Riviere du Loup, 12 August 1884, in Pope (1921:317-9).

¹⁴⁷ Including *An Act to enable Half-breed Children to convey their land, 1878; An Act to amend the Half-breed Land Protection Act, 1877; An Act to amend the Act enabling Half-breed Children to convey their land, 1879; Act to amend the Infant Estates Act, 1879.*

¹⁴⁸ Whereas the *Gradual Civilization Act, 1857* stipulated that enfranchised Indians would receive 50 acres of the land set aside as reserve for the band, Macdonald had “a great deal of doubt whether it would be well to give every Indian when he becomes 21 years of age, the right of absolute disposal of his lands. I am afraid that it would introduce into this country a system by which land-sharks could get hold of estates” (Macdonald, March 2, 1876: 342-3, in response to *An Amendment to the Act respecting the Indians of Canada concerning better inducements to their enfranchisement*).

¹⁴⁹ Construction of this passage with public funds versus private capital was debated at length and took several forms over the years. It was first presented as an Imperial scheme, “in Imperial interest, and therefore Imperial in prosecution in the first Parliament”. According to Blake, it was ‘cheapened as a Government colonization line’ in the second Parliament, and even further after it was to be “built, owned, and run through the medium of a private company in 1880” (Blake, December 10, 1880: 9). While Mackenzie and Blake supported Macdonald’s ‘large scale scheme of relief to employ idle workmen from over-populated districts in the Mother Country so as to open up the fertile North-West to settlement with a view to building up flourishing colonies on British soil and preventing a stream of immigration from England to foreign countries’, they opposed his national policy of building the Canadian Pacific Railway with ‘foreign’ investment capital from the United States. They believed it was ‘an insult thrown in the face of British statesmen and the British people and a policy against the Empire and the interests of British commerce’ and in favour of ‘the commerce of a foreign people on our borders’ (Mackenzie, May 10, 1879: 1900). Blake believed that a railroad across the prairies was a matter of great national and international commerce and should be built in the best interests of the country. In bringing ‘thousands of distressed people’ from the British working classes to North West, the exchange of money to build up the road should not be paid to private American enterprise (Mackenzie, May 10, 1879: 1900). Mackenzie exposed patronage during Macdonald’s term in what is now known as ‘The Pacific Scandal.’ In 1873 Mackenzie uncovered a contribution of \$360,000 made by Scottish-born Canadian industrialist and shipping and communications magnate Sir Hugh Allan and his American partners toward Macdonald’s political ‘campaign’. The Liberal Party politicized the contribution as an illicit payment in return for the Charter to build the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway. Mackenzie’s disclosure forced a Royal Commission on the matter and the resignation of Macdonald’s government after impropriety was found. Mackenzie won government in the 1873 election, the deal fell through, and railway construction was continued as a public enterprise under the department of public works. A new syndicate was formed after Macdonald returned to power, which transferred ownership and control of all sections of the national railway to an incorporation of Canadian, British, and American capitalists of Scottish descent, some of whom are identified in Footnote #188. They received twenty-five million dollars in state credit and twenty-five million acres of public land as part of the bargain. See Canada (1874: 111-113) for the Senate inquiry into the matter of which the names of those involved and the reasons that Macdonald selected them as Directors is disclosed. See The Dominion Annual Register (Canada; 1868:63; 188; 354; 355) for their titles and standing in Canadian society.

¹⁵⁰ This was Macdonald’s response to the news that the United State Government was planning to build a railway line to come within twenty miles of the boundary of the Hudson’s Bay Territory in as many places as possible. He proposed that this group could build a railway faster than the US government and “and thus injure, if not prevent, the construction of an independent line in British territory” (Macdonald, in Pope, 1921:123-4).

¹⁵¹ Macdonald’s land policy against speculation.

¹⁵² A dominant theme in the data on Macdonald is his vision “to connect this country from sea to sea, making it one in fact as well as in law” (Macdonald, January 17, 1881). He envisioned two overland routes running through Canada in this regard, to “carry the agricultural wealth of the North-West; the all-rail route running

from Calgary through the whole wheat district and north of Lake Superior direct to Montreal and the sea. There will be the subsidiary line running from Winnipeg to Prince Arthur's landing and then by steamers to Eastern Canada" (Macdonald, January 18, 1884: 23-24).

¹⁵³ Including the assurance that German emigrants would not be sent back to Europe for military duty in the impending wars (Macdonald, April 6, 1875: 1086).

¹⁵⁴ Note that this was proposed amid legislative repeals to *The Half-breed Land Protection Act*, 1873 which sanctioned the sale of lands awarded to French and English-speaking Métis children in the *Manitoba Act*, 1870. This Act was amended in 1877 and another passed in 1878 to allow Métis children to convey their land. Large tracts of land were reserved for Mennonites whose colonies remain today. Some of these reserves were offered for public sale (Macdonald, March 14, 1881: 1368)

¹⁵⁵ While discourses on this aspect of colonization in the North West were not directly observed in any the speeches reviewed, substantive evidence of this historical practice still exists. I first came upon the deserted colonial mansions of French and European aristocrats in South-eastern Saskatchewan while looking for Medicine Wheels as a child in the area south of Kisbey, by Moose Mountain Provincial Park. While most of these homes were left to rot, some have been preserved as heritage sites, including Cannington Manor, which pales in comparison to the palatial estates we had discovered during those summers. It is interesting to note that while French, Belgian, and German aristocrats tried to persevere in various agricultural pursuits in this area, some emigrants simply bought up large tracts of land, planted crops, and built large and small houses as per the requirements of the *Dominion Lands Act*, 1872, left, and did not return to harvest or improve their property. See Sullivan (2009) for further information on the French counts of St. Hubert, a settlement just south of Whitewood who arrived in the area in the mid 1880's.

¹⁵⁶ While Macdonald agreed with this in principle, there is no evidence that he advocated recruitment of the upper classes to the North West (Macdonald, May 1 1869: 369-70; March 29, 1879: 757). As Wakefield (1849) suggests, while those with established control of the state and government were in favour of emigration of capital and labour classes to keep the prices down, they had no intention of introducing competition among their own class. Mackenzie, on the other hand, was dead set against this practice, refusing to institute a royal road to wealth in the new world (Mackenzie, 1877, in Samuels, 2002: 88).

¹⁵⁷ Tory industrial capitalists in Macdonald's case; the data shows that Mackenzie and Blake were responsible for inducing British-born and/or European Christian workers and labourers to emigrate.

¹⁵⁸ Recall that reproducing the economy and state of England was Macdonald's goal.

¹⁵⁹ As was the case in eastern Canada before Confederation as previously discussed in this chapter.

¹⁶⁰ Habermas (1975) and Berger and Luckman (1967) concentrate on the means of the legitimation of a certain system at the cultural level. Habermas for instance, looks at the way in which a system of ideas generated by the political system is used to support the existence of the political system. The focus here is on the justification of central state control of the economy in the North West as being necessary and normal to the economic prosperity for all.

¹⁶¹ Including the provision of 'better and cheaper articles' for their use thereby and putting an "end to the wrong to the Indians and prevent inferior articles being foisted upon them ... articles of which the Indians had a right to complain in regards to implements and other supplies" (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1944).

¹⁶² According to Bishop Tache, he "said he knew there were offers of four millions of money, and men to any extent, from the United States" (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 73). Government also had to "allay the

prevailing fear and discontent that might induce them to join in the Fenian movement” (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 74)

¹⁶³ The *North-West Territories Act, 1875* provided for the appointment of a council, but it also gave the Lt. Governor the power to authorize a census to be taken once it was indicated that ‘there exists within a limited area a number of souls entitled to a representative’ (Blake, June 30, 1885: 2930).

¹⁶⁴ This was another of Wakefield’s (1849) principles, where central government would appoint ‘a civil or military servant of the state’ to stipulate formation of the local government and legislature. Legislation to enable this process was to be made well in advance, and it could be argued that this was the case in the Manitoba Act, 1870, if you consider the small size of the province at the time of its confederation with Canada, compared to its increased size under the *Manitoba Boundaries Extension Act, 1881*. The boundaries of Manitoba have further significance in 1876 at which time Mackenzie (and Riel) proposed a new province to the west.

¹⁶⁵ Consisting of five members appointed by the Governor General in council; three appointed stipendiary magistrates or judges and an Indian agent plus one other person (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 654)

¹⁶⁶ In addition to the establishment and maintenance of public and reformatory prisons, hospitals, asylums, charities, eleemosynary institutions except marine hospitals, municipal institutions, shops, saloons and tavern and other licenses for local revenue, local works, incorporation of private and local companies for matters other than those assigned by the General Government, property and civil rights including marriage and excepting those assigned to the General Government, punishment by fine, penalties, imprisonment, or otherwise for breach of laws within their jurisdiction, the courts in civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all matters of a private or local nature not assigned to the General Parliament (Macdonald, in Pope, 1948:715-725, Appendix XIV).

¹⁶⁷ After he was elected in 1873, Mackenzie reformed the *Dominion Elections Act, 1873* in 1874, which was amended again in 1878 and 1882, and many more times after 1885 to establish who could vote. While Mackenzie emancipated the workingmen of eastern Canada, the Act continued to oppress Aboriginal peoples, women, and minorities in that in this period more than half of the population of Canada had no democratic rights (Canada Human Rights Commission, 2006).

¹⁶⁸ There were separate qualifications for rural and urban freehold property-holders, employed people based on earnings, and urban renters, and long-term lease-holders respectively. For a detailed breakdown please see Canada (1874a); Buckingham and Ross (1892:381).

¹⁶⁹ Including the legislature of Manitoba.

¹⁷⁰ The relevance of this will be discussed further in this chapter, but briefly, as Aboriginal peoples were being ‘civilized’ they were also being groomed specifically as a Conservative constituency. I argue that this is the reason that the Liberal opposition under Mackenzie opposed Indigenous self determination and proposed the ‘more temporary’ council form of government rather than permanent arrangements respecting the territories in response to Macdonald’s introduction of a Bill for the establishment of a Provisional Government in the North West. It was believed that the House would need ‘a year or two’ in order to “ascertain the desires and wishes of the inhabitants of the Territory as to the form of Government to be introduced” (Mackenzie, May 7, 1870: 1415; in Buckingham and Ross, 1892:262).

¹⁷¹ Assimilation in this context meant improving their land and assuming their land patent which earned them corresponding ‘rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens’.

¹⁷² As Macdonald notes, The *Indian Act, 1876* was ‘merely experimental’ in transforming the power of elected and hereditary chiefs through the formation of elective councils responsible for subdivision and distribution of land in reserve among band members (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 538). In fact, most of the

‘amalgamation’ practices in the North West concerning Aboriginal peoples were trial and error including “the experiment of seeking to induce Indians to settle down on reserves and change their habits” (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426). The attitude was, that “in some cases the experiment may fail, that is what I fear; but I must say there will not be many” (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426).

¹⁷³ While de Vattel (in Chitty, 1867: 7) was French, he articulates England as the model of a perfected commercial nation and state. He suggests that the patriotic citizens of England are largely responsible for this as a self-motivated citizenry, dedicated to private enterprise and promotion of public welfare toward the glory of the nation and its perfection. While the *Law of Nations* is primarily a treatise on merchant trade, Chitty adds footnotes throughout his translation giving examples relating to financial and industrial capital. He also uses examples to substantiate de Vattel’s observations concerning the role of representatives and capitalists in the preservation of England as a commercial nation and state, where the individual labours for his and her own gain and for the strength of the nation. Two examples of civic patriotism are noted in this context 1) the exertions of members of parliament without having ‘any private interest excepting the approval of their countrymen’ in improving existing commercial regulations; and 2) the “public spirit of individuals who employ their capital in the building of national bridges, canals, and railroads etcetera for a yield less than 21 per cent” (Chitty, 1867: 7fn20).

¹⁷⁴ Including ordinance for the prevention of small pox (Macdonald, to Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, Ottawa, 18 November, 1879, in Macdonald and Pope, 1921:140)

¹⁷⁵ And from the United States: “462,000 worth of supplies to feed them was purchased from IG Baker in Montana on the ‘monarch of necessity’ as there was no other means of getting supplies except from Montana as no one could tender for the supplies in the extreme West ... they are the only ones who would do it ... Although they are Americans, they are most satisfactory contractors – fair, honest, liberal, and trustworthy” (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1102-4).

¹⁷⁶ As the opposition notes: “The Indian was more independent before the Franchise Bill when it stood that reserve land could be divided up so as to qualify ‘any one of the Indians with the right to vote’. It is not given as a right, but as a favor to those tribal Indians who have been given location tickets or have private holdings” (Blake, May 26, 1885: 2105).

¹⁷⁷ As Wakefield (1849: 68-72) suggests, economies based on credit rely on political order; political disturbances and struggles over private property are dangerous to a nation’s commerce.

¹⁷⁸ However, while religion was seen as the only means of learning chivalry and charity of mind, it was considered “undesirable to disturb the ‘minds of the Indian with denominational disputes’ and so where a mission had been established by one church, “another should not enter into opposition for the purpose of proselytizing” (Mackenzie, February 24, 1879: 202). On the other hand, Mackenzie argued that if “any number of Indians did change their religious views, they should be protected” (February 24, 1879: 202).

¹⁷⁹ As Macdonald notes, they were killing their oxen “to save themselves from starvation”(Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426)

¹⁸⁰ Treaty-Aboriginal peoples were to be sanctioned for harvesting valuable resources for personal use (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1425). They would also be discouraged from leaving the reserve to assemble the hunt on the first information of the buffalo crossing the line (Macdonald, May 3, 1882: 1291). The state would thus act as ‘managers’ to prevent them from “selling off crops and produce to traders in exchange for spirits” (Macdonald, March 17, 1881: 1426). Mackenzie further restricted Aboriginal people’s harvesting of resources to conserve them for state use. He believed that the value of land is determined by the route of the railroad, and that “the land we own has deposits of coal and lignite which might be made available for economic purposes, and excellent timber for railway construction” (Mackenzie, April 20, 1877: 163).

¹⁸¹ As Wakefield (1849) notes, women had a major role to play in civilization processes as did British civility: “we wanted to introduce civilized customs there, and supplied the family of Little Drum a coffin to bury him in because his family was too destitute to supply a burial blanket for him” (Macdonald, May 9, 1883: 1103).

¹⁸² Wakefield (1849) proposed a list of the ‘better’ denominations for this purpose, including The Church of Scotland and the Baptists. Various classes and denominations including the Salvation Army formed colonization companies to assist the settlement of people without means in the North West, with exception of the Mormons, who were considered an “illegal body” led by “objectionable persons” (Macdonald, to Lord Stanley, Earncliffe, 14 December, 1889, in Pope, 1921:462; February 12, 1883: 25).

¹⁸³ To supply “the means of their existence, Government sent flour instead of money” (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 68). This was decided because Government knew ‘the nature of the population of the country ... that the majority of them were half-breeds or Indians , and that there was ‘great danger if we paid them in money instead of food, that they would spend it on intoxicating liquors” (Macdonald, February 11, 1875: 68).

¹⁸⁴ Macdonald admitted that citizenship was ‘really’ a method devised to “encourage them to tax themselves” suggesting that “sometimes they do subscribe very liberally, especially for educational purposes” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 542). On the other hand, as he suggests, “I know of an Indian in Lower Canada who was a large merchant worth up to 100,000. When he was asked “why do you not become a white man and be elected to Parliament?” he would shrug his shoulders and say: ‘No, I am only a poor Indian.’ He did not wish to pay any contribution to the State” (Macdonald, February 26, 1884: 541).

¹⁸⁵ Recall however, from my observations of freehold entitlement for British emigrants, that there would be adequate food for them, should they run short.

¹⁸⁶ Métis affairs had been “a good deal complicated by the murder of Scott ... they are calling for retribution upon Riel, and all connected with him. Indignation meetings have been held all over Canada, and the government has been called upon by some of them to refuse to receive any delegates commissioned by Riel” (Macdonald, to Earl of Carnarvon, Ottawa, 14 April 1870, in Pope, 1921: 132-4).

¹⁸⁷ Initially the state agreed to supplement their food supply during winter and periods of drought and crop failure until they were self-sufficient and/or “to keep things quiet until spring” (Macdonald, 12 August 1884, in Pope, 1921:317-9; 1882: 18). However the attitudes of state executives changed considerably over the years and as this experiment started to show signs of failure. As Macdonald (May 5, 1880: 1991) states: “[It] was a dangerous thing to commence the system of feeding the Indians. So long as they know they can rely, or believe they can rely, on any source whatever for their food, they make no efforts to support themselves. We have to guard against that, and the only way to guard against it is by being rigid, even stingy, in the distribution of food and require absolute proof of starvation before distributing it.” By 1880, the general opinion was that “You can never make an Indian an agriculturalist” (Macdonald, May 3, 1880: 1944).

¹⁸⁸ Richard Angus, James Hill, Duncan McIntyre, John Stewart Kennedy, Norman Kittson, George Stephen, and Donald Smith were partners with significant financial interest (Wills, 2005). Frederick William Cumberland was selected by Macdonald (1874b:112) as his “great personal friend.”

¹⁸⁹ This is a reference to the concept of ‘Divine Destiny’ or ‘Manifest Destiny’ articulated by prominent essayists from the United States in the context of continental expansion to eliminate a British presence, first seen in the context of the 1837 Rebellions, the Fenian Raids, and the annexation of Oregon as a colony of British North America. Fulfillment of this destiny circa 1837 included the annexation of Mexico and Canada and the transformation of the monarchist state through republicanism.

¹⁹⁰ With Charters, tenders, public revenue, land, food, seed, and other public goods and resources.

¹⁹¹ The Shawnee were instrumental in holding back American settlement and therefore the goals of manifest destiny of the United States to annex Canada during the ‘Northwest Indian War’ of 1785–1795.

¹⁹² In addition the Lieutenant Governor by and with the consent of the Council of the North West Territories to make, ordain, and establish ordinances regarding property and civil rights, the administration of justice, organization of courts, civil and criminal jurisdiction and procedure, public health and all matters of a merely local and private nature, the imposition of punishment by fine or penalty on matters under provincial jurisdiction.

¹⁹³ Recall that emigrants – the source of state revenue - arriving on the eastern seaboard were leaving Canada as soon as they realized that land was cheaper and better in the United States, and that they left via established American rail system that made it easy for them to travel into the United States and across the plains. After Mackenzie exposed ‘The Pacific Scandal’ and caused the fall of Macdonald’s government in 1873, he proposed a new route to ‘bring them back’. His colonization route would bring settlers (and goods) up from the west coast and into the North West via “the water ways between the Rockies and Fort Garry” where goods would proceed “on to Lake Superior, to connect by way of Pembina, Manitoba with the American railway system” (Buckingham and Ross, 1892:357). Mackenzie saw this as the better and cheaper plan for connecting the east coast with British Columbia, and as a way to induce productive expatriates back to Canada (Mackenzie, March 14, 1877: 694). Although it is not observed in the data explicitly, it can be inferred that these water ways were being developed to bring settlers *directly* into the territories from Britain via Hudson Bay and Fort Pelly, where it would be harder for them to get to America. Considering that England was the leader in shipping technology and the carrying trade at the time, and that the Company’s merchant fleet and flotilla had perfected the Hudson Strait, sea ice, and oceanic shipping, it could easily be navigated as a colonization route in, and for exports to England and Western Europe on the way out. See Catchpole and Faurer (1985) for an interesting projected study of the Company’s shipping season. Consider the choice of Fort Pelly as a seat of government in this context. Macdonald advocated a mainline and subsidiary line for a transcontinental protectionist route, however, as he states, “If these two are found to be insufficient, the Hudson Bay route will have its turn” (Macdonald, January 18, 1884: 23-24). Water communication would be considered after the construction of the Railway system as the ‘connecting link of all the Provinces of the Union and trade with the United States’ (Macdonald, March 23, 1870: 687).

¹⁹⁴ Fort Pelly was a Hudson Bay post on the portage of the Swan and Assiniboine Rivers about three hundred miles inland from the west bank of the Hudson Bay. It is interesting to note that it is a designated archaeological site owned by the University of Saskatchewan.

¹⁹⁵ David Laird was a prominent Liberal and Member of Parliament, the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, and appointed Governor General of the Northwest Territories by Mackenzie in 1876.

¹⁹⁶ Upon the establishment of electoral districts, the Lieutenant governor and council would have the power of direct taxation and licensing to create municipal corporations to collect revenue needed for local and municipal purposes as an ordinance under provincial jurisdiction (Mackenzie, April 1, 1875: 1034). They would also provide for the establishment of schools as the majority of rate-payers see fit and where the local minority of rate-payers “whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, might establish separate schools” (Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 659).

¹⁹⁷ The population was not considerable in parts of the territories including Fort Gary where “there were 500 people other than Indians who have settled there” (Mackenzie, March 12, 1875: 656-7). It was proposed that as soon as there was proof of 1,000 inhabitants in an area not exceeding 1,000 miles, such districts may become erected into electoral districts with entitlement to elect a member of the Council or Legislative Assembly of the North West Territory once 21 members have been elected to the Council. A writ for a second member will be executed as soon as there is proof of 2,000 inhabitants, again exclusive of aliens and ‘unenfranchised Indians’. Any bona fide resident and householder who had been in the district for 12 months may vote and any person entitled to vote shall be eligible for election (Mackenzie, March 11, 1875: 655-7).

¹⁹⁸ These statements lead to another contradiction that must be pointed out. While Blake was concerned about Chinese emigrants not contributing to society and/or assimilating to British culture, Blake moved to Britain in 1891 where he represented the Irish Nationalist Party in the British House of Commons as the member for a constituency in Ireland.

¹⁹⁹ This is important in the context that Macdonald and Mackenzie recognized the *Law of Nations* as a Christian treatise for Christian nations, which clearly states that man had a right to the means of his own subsistence and no member of the human family should be refused entry into a society when not be able to acquire the means of subsistence through work in their own nation. Recall however, that the principles of the treatise are based on honour and can only be enforced by force (see de Vattel, 1867).

²⁰⁰ As Mackenzie states, “the extinguishment of half-breed title (a condition on which obtaining possession of Territory was based) took 1/6 of the lands. The extinguishment of the claims of full-blooded Indians took up 2/6ths. The Company held title of 10,000 acres in the other half of the province. 600,000 acres were already settled. After water and wastelands, there was nothing left to settle” (Mackenzie, May 9, 1870: 1491).

²⁰¹ Lord Granville, minister of the colonies, was also very vocal in accusing the Tory government of causing disorder in the North West and adding to the need for law and order (see also Riel, 1885s: 186).

²⁰² Stories like this were a popular in Liberal news organs like the *Globe* and a way to influence public opinion of the need for legislation and lawmakers to protect Amerindian populations by stopping the American whiskey trade in the ‘Wild’ North West. Consider this account of the history of the North West Mounted Police, who were formed as an Act of Legislation by Macdonald in response to enraged public opinion over the Cypress Hills Massacre of the peaceful Nakota Assiniboiné by an American gang of fur traders in south-west Saskatchewan 1873: “The days of scalping were at their height, and the threats of savage Indians became a Horror ... it was very evident that, among these men, life was very cheap ... and to kill an Indian was a meritorious act. There was no law, justice or demand for peace ... we had no government, we had no one in authority; truly, as of now, might was right” (Alberta, 1973; see Sharp, 1975; Stegner, 1962).

This legitimizing process continued after the formation of the Mounted Police in the context of the urgency to establish Canadian authority through a state and standing army along the North West frontier. As Macdonald suggests: “There are large herds of cattle coming into our North-West from the Southern States – brought in by herdsmen and drivers from Texas, and we know that in the history of the transactions between the white man and the Indian in the United States that in the western country the white man would be apt to shoot the Indian on sight, as he would a prairie dog. And such white men are coming into our Western Territory. Such white men are accustomed to continual collision with the Indians, and the great danger is that by any act of appropriation of a white man’s property, he white man may be excited to protect it by taking an Indian’s life, and the killing of one Indian may cause an Indian war, slaughter, and we do not know what other consequences” (Macdonald, February 10, 1882, p: 15-16).

²⁰³ Prohibition is a reoccurring theme in the data for Mackenzie. Mackenzie was an active member of the Temperance Society however he did not enact the *Canadian Temperance Act, 1878* concerning nation-wide prohibition (Forster, 1994). Rather, he intended to experiment with it in a new province in the North West: “The exclusion of all intoxicating liquors and the provisions for prohibiting their introduction and sale in the territory will provide the Dominion with a fair opportunity to commence with a clean slate in this enormous territory, and test practically the operation of a prohibitory liquor law where there has been no law on that or any other subject before. If we were to accomplish prohibition in that territory it would enable us the better to accomplish the object that so many were petitioning for as regards the whole Dominion.” The North West Territories would become a test case with ‘strict provisions for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors and stringent instruction to the police force in the territory to prevent its importation from the United States, and failing that, the destruction of intoxicating liquors, which has been very beneficial “so far as least as

regards the condition of the Indian tribes” (Mackenzie, April 1, 1875: 1034; March 11, 1875: 655; February 11, 1876: 18).

²⁰⁴ Lord Granville, minister of the colonies, was very vocal in accusing the Tory government of causing disorder in the North West and adding to the need for law and order (see also Riel, 1885s: 186).

²⁰⁵ According to Mackenzie (Mackenzie, July 13, 1875:1), there were some “50,000 Indians” in the North West, a country “infested for years by traders from the United States selling intoxicating liquor to the Indians, and causing much disturbance in our relations with them by keeping up a constant irritation on the frontier, and debauchery and war amongst the Indian tribes.” Government was “determined to send a force of Mounted Police, armed as cavalry, to establish law and order. This force was organized and sent . . . it accomplished its mission [and] order was completely established; and I was informed by a resident at Fort Benton, in the upper part of the Missouri country (in the United States), that they never knew on the frontier what it was to have order established till the Canadian troops did so.”

²⁰⁶ Recall that Blake offered a bounty for his capture and return to Canada as discussed in Section 7.2.3.

²⁰⁷ As did Louis Riel, and this will be fully explained in my dissertation.

²⁰⁸ Upwards of eighty thousand survivors are eligible for Common Experience Payments (CEPs) and Independent Assessment Process awards (IAPs). CEPs are awards for survivors for language, cultural and other losses based on the number of years the survivor lived at a Residential School. Each survivor alive as of May 30, 2005 will receive \$10,000 for the first school year (or part of a school year) and \$3,000 for each school year (or part of a school year) after that. Non-adversarial IAPs assess the need for additional compensation to survivors who suffered sexual abuse or certain types of serious physical or other abuse (See Canada, 2007).

²⁰⁹ Cairns (2001: 107) takes a unique approach in suggesting that “to proclaim only one identity is to cease to be a social being.” Cairns suggests that people can be Aboriginal and Canadian at the same time, hence they would be citizens ‘plus’, but still citizens of the Canadian nation. However, I suggest that while Aboriginal peoples are considered equal in terms of political rights and legal cultural distinctions, they are not socially equal in the context of property. While indigenous individuals and bands have a legal right to ‘enjoyment’ of the proceeds from the land in their possession for agricultural use, the state is still the proprietor in control of its ‘public’ (Crown) resources like diamonds, water, and oil.

²¹⁰ See Marx (1852) for a discussion of how the bourgeois press in England denounced Chartist leaders and writers by accusing them of ‘setting class against class’. See also Foucault (1977) who links ideology to repressive state action in newspaper accounts that either condemn or praise the ritual, but socialize the ritual so as to prevent popular resistance and editorial discourse that encourage it

²¹¹ Engels (1890) goes on to say that “Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that the younger people sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise the main principle *vis-à-vis* our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to give their due to the other elements involved in the interaction. . . . Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a new theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have assimilated its main principles, and even those not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent “Marxists” from this reproach, for the most amazing rubbish has been produced in this quarter, too.”